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vol. 2

THE

FIVE GREAT MONARCHIES

OF THE

ANCIENT EASTERN WORLD;

OR,

THE HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND ANTIQUITIES OF CHALDÆA, ASSYRIA, BABYLON, MEDIA, AND PERSIA,

COLLECTED AND ILLUSTRATED FROM ANCIENT AND MODERN SOURCES.

By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A.,

CAMDEN PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD;
LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF EXETER COLLEGE.

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THE SECOND MONARCHY.

ASSYRIA.

Chapter VII.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

"Whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent; their horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint, and their wheels like a whirlwind."

Isaiah v. 28.

In reviewing, so far as our materials permit, the manners and customs of the Assyrians, it will be convenient to consider separately their warlike and their peaceful usages. The sculptures furnish very full illustration of the former, while on the latter they throw light far more sparingly.

The Assyrians fought in chariots, on horseback, and on foot. Like most ancient nations, as the Egyptians,[1] the Greeks in the heroic times,[2] the Canaanites,[3] the Syrians,[4] the Jews and Israelites,[5] the Persians,[6] the Gauls,[7] the Britons,[8] and many others,[9] the Assyrians preferred the chariot as most

[1] Gen. xli. 43; Ex. xiv. 7-28; 2 K. xviii. 24; Jer. xlvi. 9; &c. Compare Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 1st Series, vol. i. pp. 335 *et seqq.*

[2] Hom. *Il.* iii. 29, iv. 366, &c. Hes. *Scut. Herc.* 306-309; Æsch. *Sept. c. Th.* 138, 191, &c.

[3] Josh. xvii. 18; Judg. i. 19 and iv. 3.

[4] 2 Sam. x. 18; 2 K. vi. 14, 15.

[5] 1 Sam. viii. 11, 12; 1 K. iv. 26, x. 26, xvi. 9, xxii. 34, &c.

[6] Herod. vii. 40; Æsch. *Pers.* 86; Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 10; Arr. *Exp. Alex.* ii. 11, iii. 11.

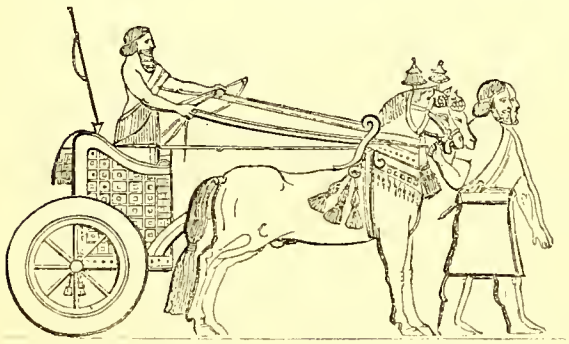
[7] Cæs. *De Bell. Gall.* iv. 33.

[8] Tacit. *Agric.* § 12, and § 35.

[9] As the Philistines (1 Sam. xiii. 5), the Hittites (1 K. x. 29; 2 K.

honourable, and probably as most safe. The king invariably went out to war in a chariot and always fought from it, excepting at the siege of a town, when he occasionally dismounted and shot his arrows on foot. The chief state-officers and other personages of high rank followed the same practice. Inferior persons served either as cavalry, or as foot-soldiers.

The Assyrian war-chariot is thought to have been made of wood.[10] Like the Greek and the Egyptian, it appears to have been mounted from behind, where it was completely open, or closed only by means of a shield, which (as it seems) could be hung across the aperture. It was completely panelled at the sides, and often highly ornamented, as will be seen from the various illustrations given in this chapter. The wheels were two in number, and were placed far back, at or very near the extreme end of the body, so that the weight pressed considerably upon the pole, as was the case also in Egypt.[11] They had remarkably broad felloes, thin and delicate spokes, and moderate-sized axles. The number of the spokes



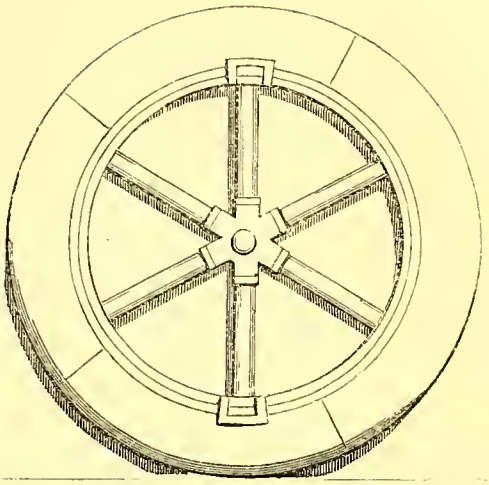
Assyrian war-chariot (Koyunjik).

vii. 6), the Susianians or Elamites (Is. xxii. 6), the Lydians (Æsch. *Pers.* 45-48), the wild African tribes near Cyrene (Herod. iv. 189, vii. 86), and the Indians of the Punjab region (Ibid., and Arrian. *Exp. Alex.* v. 15).

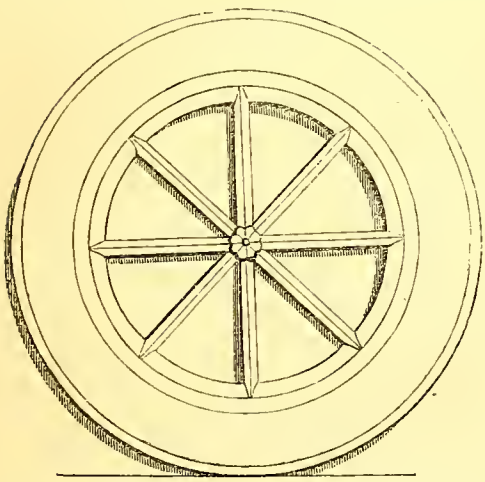
[10] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 349.

[11] Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 1st Series, vol. i. p. 343. In the Greek and Roman chariots, on the contrary, the axle-tree was placed about midway in the body.

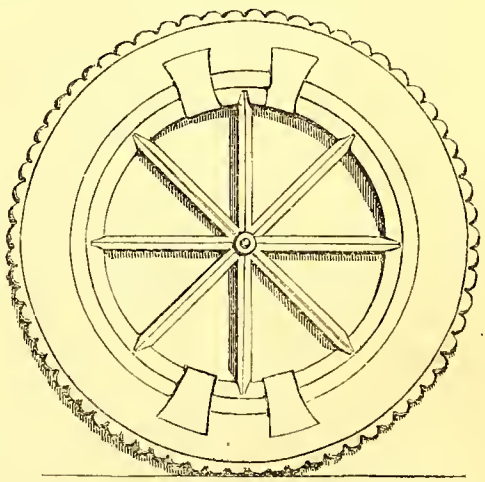
was either six or eight. The felloes appear to have been formed of three distinct circles of wood, the middle one being the thinnest, and the outer one far the thickest of the three. Sometimes these circles were fastened together externally by bands of metal, hatchet-shaped. In one or two instances we find the outermost circle divided by cross-bars, as if it had been composed of four different pieces. Occasionally there is a fourth circle, which seems to represent a metal tire outside the felloe, whereby it was guarded from injury. This tire is either plain or ornamented.



No. I. Chariot-wheel of the early period.



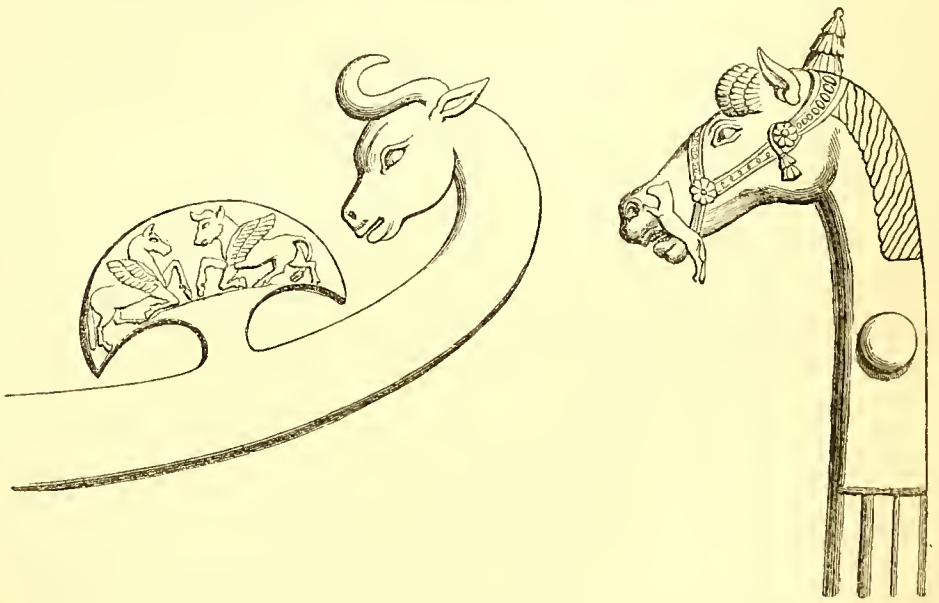
No. II. Chariot-wheel of the middle period.



No. III. Chariot-wheel of the latest period.

The wheels were attached to an axle-tree, about which they revolved, in the usual manner. The body was placed directly upon the axle-tree and upon the pole, without the intervention of any

springs. The pole started from the middle of the axle-tree, and, passing below the floor of the body in a horizontal direction, thence commonly curved upwards till it had risen to about half the height of the body, when it was again horizontal for a while, once more curving upwards at the end. It usually terminated in an ornament, which was sometimes the head of an animal—a bull, a horse, or a duck—sometimes a more elaborate and complicated work of art. Now and then the pole continued level with



Ornamented ends of chariot-poles (Nimrud and Koyunjik).

the bottom of the body till it had reached its full projection, and then rose suddenly to the height of the top of the chariot. It was often strengthened by one or more thin bars, probably of metal, which united it to the upper part of the chariot-front.[12]

Chariots were drawn either by two or three, never by four, horses. They seem to have had but a single

[12] See the representations of entire chariots given below, pp. 8, 10, and 11.

pole.[1] Where three horses were used, one must therefore have been attached merely by a rope or thong, like the side horses of the Greeks,[2] and can scarcely have been of much service for drawing the vehicle. He seems rightly regarded as a supernumerary, intended to take the place of one of the others, should either be disabled by a wound or accident.[3] It is not easy to determine from the sculptures how the two draught horses were attached to the pole. Where chariots are represented without horses, we find indeed that they have always a cross-bar or yoke;[4] but where horses are represented in the act of drawing a chariot, the cross-bar commonly disappears altogether. It would seem that the Assyrian artists, despairing of their ability to represent the yoke properly when it was presented to the eye endwise, preferred, for the most part, suppressing it wholly to rendering it in an unsatisfactory manner. Probably a yoke did really in every case pass over the shoulders of the two draught horses, and was fastened by straps to the collar which is always seen round their necks.

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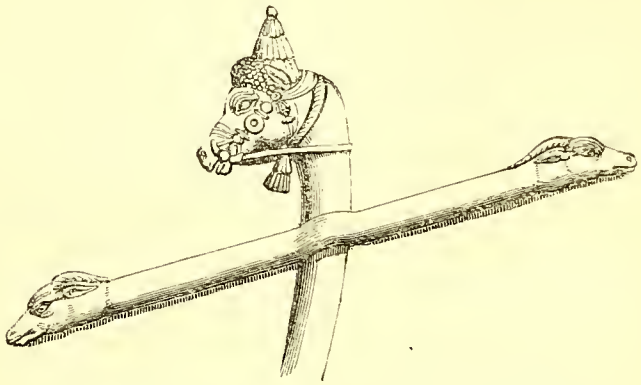
[1] This was the case also with the Greek chariots. The chariots of the Lydians, according to Æschylus (*Pers.* 45-47), had two and even three poles (δίῤῥυμά τε καὶ τρίῤῥυμα τέλη). In the Assyrian sculptures there is *one* representation of what seems to be a chariot with two poles (Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd Series, Pl. 24); but perhaps the intention was to represent *two* chariots, one partially concealing the other.

[2] Σειραῖοι, or σειραφόροι, "rope-bearers," from σειρά, "a cord or rope." (See Soph. *Electr.* 722; Eurip. *Iph. A.* 223; *Herc. F.* 446; Schol. ad Aristoph. *Nub.* 1302; Isid. *Orig.* xviii. 35, &c.: and compare the article on CURRUS, in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 379, 2nd edition.)

[3] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 350.

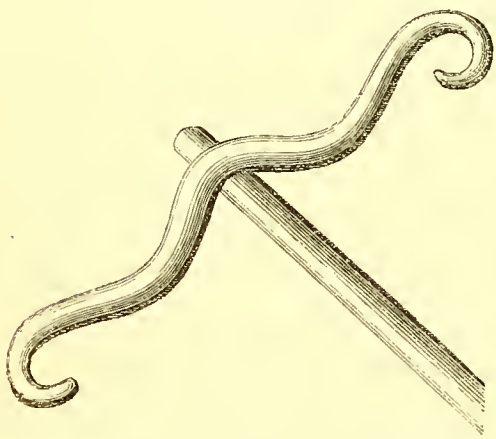
[4] Generally the yoke is exhibited with great clearness, being drawn in full, at right angles to the pole, or nearly so, despite the laws of perspective. Sometimes, however, as in Sennacherib's chariot (figured below, p. 10, No. II.), we find in the place where we should expect the yoke a mere circle marked out upon the pole, which represents probably one end of the yoke, or possibly the hole through which it passed.

These yokes, or cross-bars, were of various kinds. Sometimes they appear to have consisted of a mere



End of pole, with cross-bar, after Botta (Khorsabad).

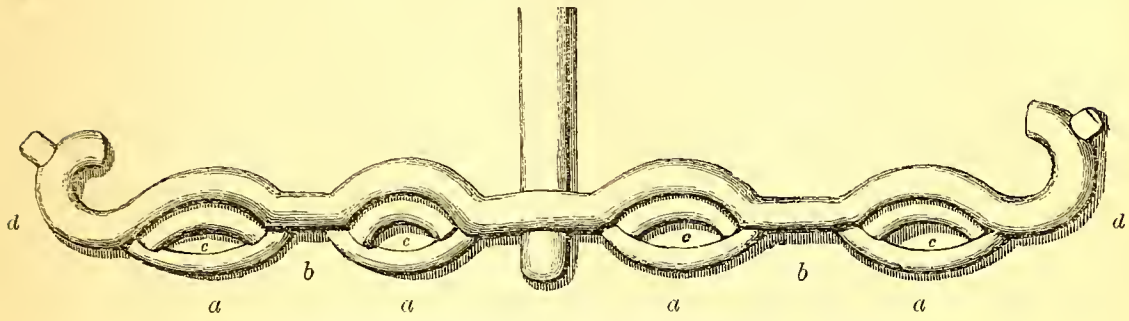
slight circular bar, probably of metal, which passed through the pole,[5] sometimes of a thicker spar, through which the pole itself passed. In this latter case the extremities were occasionally adorned with heads of animals. The most common kind of yoke exhibits a double curve, so as to resemble a species of bow unstrung. Now and then a specimen is found very curiously complicated, being formed of a bar curved strongly at either end, and exhibiting along its course four other distinct curvatures having opposite to them apertures resembling eyes, with an



End of pole, with curved yoke (Koyunjik).

[5] See the pole ending in a horse's head on p. 4, and compare that to which reference is made in the last note.

upper and a lower eyelid. It has been suggested that this yoke belonged to a four-horse chariot, and



End of pole, with elaborate cross-bar or yoke (Khorsabad).

that to each of the four eyes (*a a a a*) there was a steed attached;[6] but, as no representation of a four-horse chariot has been found, this suggestion must be regarded as inadmissible. The probability seems to be that this yoke, like the others, was for two horses, on whose necks it rested at the points marked *b b*, the apertures (*c c c c*) lying thus on either side of the animals' necks, and furnishing the means whereby the yoke was fastened to the collar. It is just possible that we have in the sculptures of the later period a representation of the extremities (*d d*) of this kind of yoke, since in them a curious curve appears sometimes on the necks of chariot horses, just above the upper end of the collar.[7]

Assyrian chariots are exceedingly short; but, apparently, they must have been of a considerable width. They contain two persons at the least; and this number is often increased to three, and sometimes even to four. The warrior who fights from a chariot is necessarily attended by his charioteer; and, where he is a king, or a personage of high

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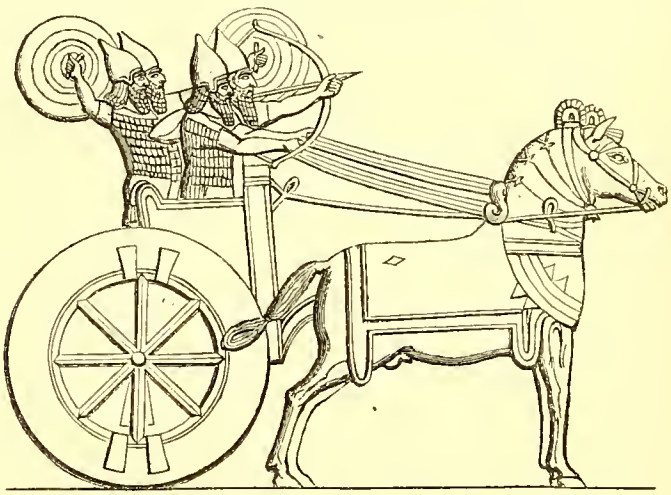
[6] Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, vol. v. p. 90.

[7] See the representation of Sargon's chariot, vol. i. p. 368.

importance, he is accompanied by a second attendant, who in battle-scenes always bears a shield, with which he guards the person of his master. Sometimes, though rarely, four persons are seen in a chariot—the king, the charioteer, and two guards, who protect the monarch on either side with circular shields or targes.[8] The charioteer is always stationed



Assyrian chariot containing four warriors (Koyunjik).

by the side of the warrior, not (as frequently with the Greeks[9]) behind him. The guards stand behind, and, owing to the shortness of the chariot, must have experienced some difficulty in keeping their places. They are evidently forced to lean backwards from want of room, and would probably have often fallen out, had they not grasped with one hand a rope or strap firmly fixed to the front of the vehicle.[10]

There are two principal types of chariots in the Assyrian sculptures, which may be distinguished as

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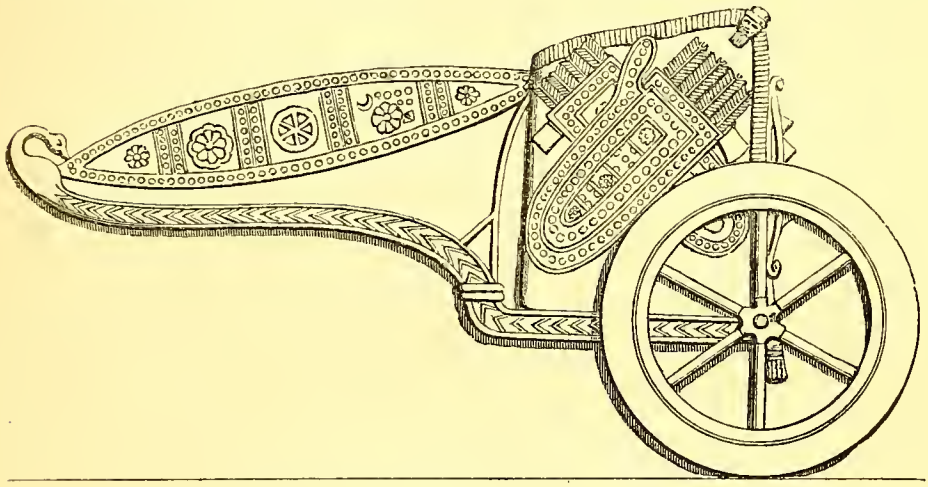
[8] Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, vol. ii. Pl. 92.

[9] *Dictionary of Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 101, 379, &c.

[10] See Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 22.

the earlier and the later.[11] The earlier are comparatively low and short. The wheels are six-spoked, and of small diameter. The body is plain, or only ornamented by a border, and is rounded in front, like the Egyptian[1] and the classical chariots.[2] Two quivers are suspended diagonally at the side of the body,[3] while a rest for a spear, commonly fashioned



No. I. Assyrian war-chariot of the early period (Nimrud).

into the shape of a human head, occupies the upper corner at the back. From the front of the body to the further end of the pole, which is generally patterned and terminates in the head and neck of a bull or a duck, extends an ornamented structure, thought to have been of linen or silk stitched upon a framework of wood,[4] which is very conspicuous in the representa-

[11] The earlier belong to the time of Asshur-idanni-pal (Sardanapalus) ab. B.C. 900; the later to the times of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Asshur-bani-pal (Esarhaddon's son), about B.C. 720-660. Sometimes, but very rarely, a chariot of the old type is met with in the second period. (See Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd Series, Pl. 24.)

[1] Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 1st Series, vol. i. p. 345.

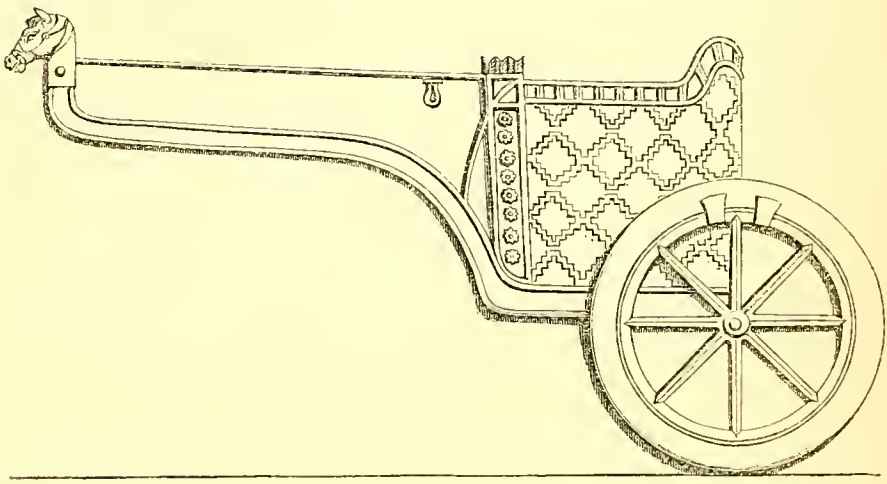
[2] Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, pp. 378, 379, 2nd ed.

[3] See the Woodcut, No. I., and compare vol. i. p. 429. Each quiver held also a small axe or hatchet. The arrangement of the quivers resembles that usual in Egypt (Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 346).

[4] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 350. Another conjecture is, that the ornament in question is really a flap of leather,

tions. A shield commonly hangs behind these chariots, perhaps closing the entrance; and a standard is sometimes fixed in them towards the front, connected with the end of the pole by a rope or bar.[5]

The later chariots are loftier and altogether larger than the earlier. The wheel is eight-spoked, and reaches as high as the shoulders of the horses, which implies a diameter of about five feet. The body rises a foot, or rather more, above this; and the riders



No. II. Assyrian war-chariot of the later period (Koyunjik).

thus from their elevated position command the whole battle-field. The body is not rounded, but made square in front; it has no quivers attached to it externally, but has, instead, a projection at one, or both, of the corners, which seems to have served as an arrow-case.[6] This projection is commonly patterned, as is in many cases the entire body of the chariot, though sometimes the ornamentation is

which extended *horizontally* from the horses' shoulders to the chariot-rim, and served the purpose of the modern splash-board. The artists, unskilled in perspective, would be obliged to substitute the perpendicular for the horizontal position.

[5] See Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 14, 22, and 27.

[6] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 352. The feathers of the arrows are sometimes distinctly visible. (See the above Woodcut.)

confined to an elegant but somewhat scanty border. The poles are plain, not patterned, sometimes, however, terminating in the head of a horse; there is no ornamental framework connecting them with the chariot, but in its stead we see a thin bar, attached to which, either above or below, there is in most instances a loop, whereto we may suppose that the reins were occasionally fastened.[7] No shield is suspended behind these chariots; but we sometimes observe an embroidered drapery hanging over the back, in a way which would seem to imply that they were closed behind, at any rate by a cross-bar.

The trappings of the chariot-horses belonging to the two periods are not very different. They consist principally of a headstall, a collar, a breast-ornament, and a sort of huge tassel pendant at the horse's side. The headstall was formed commonly of three straps: one was attached to the bit at either end, and passed behind the ears over the neck; another, which

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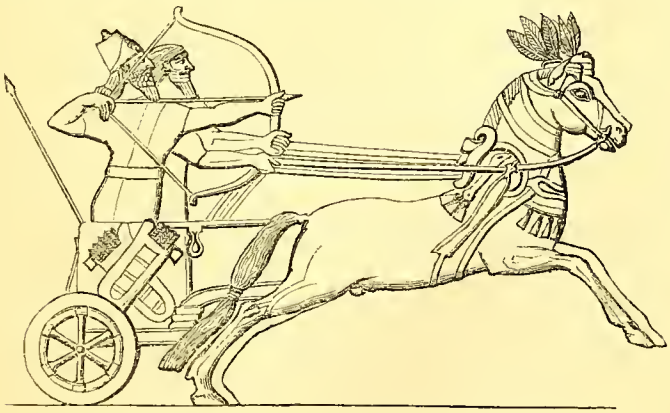
[7] If the white obelisk from Koyunjik now in the British Museum is rightly ascribed to Asshur-idanni-pal, the father of the Black-Obelisk king, it would appear that the change from the older to the later chariot began in his time. The vehicles on that monument are of a *transition* character. They have the thin bar with the loop, and have in most instances wheels with eight spokes; but their proportions are like those of the early chariots, and they have the two transverse quivers.



Assyrian chariot of the transition period (Koyunjik).

was joined to this above, encircled the smallest part of the neck; while a third, crossing the first at right angles, was carried round the forehead and the cheek-bones.[8] At the point where the first and second joined, or a little in front of this, rose frequently a waving plume, or a crest composed of three huge tassels, one above another; while at the intersection of the second and third was placed a rosette[9] or other suitable ornament. The first strap was divided where it approached the bit into two or three smaller straps, which were attached to the bit in different places. A fourth strap sometimes passed across the nose from the point where the first strap subdivided. All the straps were frequently patterned; the bit was sometimes shaped into an animal form;[10] and streamers occasionally floated from the nodding plume or crest which crowned the heads of the war-steeds.

The collar is ordinarily represented as a mere broad band passing round the neck, not at the withers (as with ourselves), but considerably higher up, almost midway between the withers and the cheek-bone. Sometimes it is of uniform width,[11] while often it narrows greatly as it approaches the back of the neck. It is generally patterned, and appears to have been a mere flat leathern band. It is impossible to say in what exact way the pole was attached to it, though in the later sculptures we

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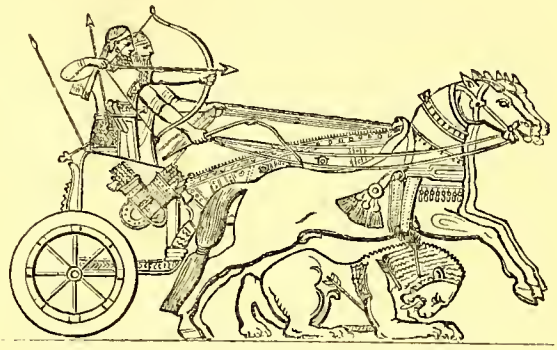
[8] See the Woodcuts on pp. 2 and 13 of this volume.

[9] Rosettes in ivory, mother of pearl, and bronze, which may have belonged to the harness of horses, were found in great abundance by Mr. Layard at Nimrud (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 177).

[10] See the representation which forms the ornamented head of a chariot-pole, supra, p. 4.

[11] This is especially the case in the sculptures of the early period.

have elaborate representations of the fastening. The earlier sculptures seem to append to the collar one or more patterned straps, which, passing round the horse's belly immediately behind the fore legs, served to keep it in place, while at the same time they were probably regarded as ornamental; but under the later kings these belly-bands were either reduced to a single strap, or else dispensed with altogether.



Assyrian chariot of the early period (Nimrud).

The breast-ornament consists commonly of a fringe, more or less complicated. The simplest form, which is that of the most ancient times, exhibits a patterned strap with a single row of long tassels pendant from it, as in the above representation. At a later date we find a double, and even a triple row of tassels.[1]

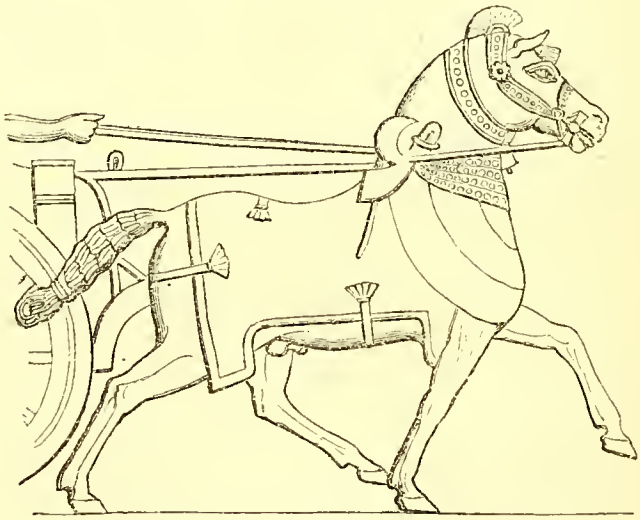
The pendant side-ornament is a very conspicuous portion of the trappings. It is attached to the collar either by a long straight strap, or by a circular band which falls on either side of the neck. The upper extremity is often shaped into the form of an animal's head, below which comes most commonly a circle or disk, ornamented with a rosette, a Maltese cross, a winged bull, or other sacred emblem, while below the circle hang huge tassels in a single row or smaller ones arranged in several rows. In

[1] Supra, vol. i. p. 368. In one case the rows of tassels amount to *seven* (Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 42).

the sculptures of Sargon at Khorsabad, the tassels of both the breast and side ornaments were coloured, the tints being in most cases alternately red and blue.[2]

Occasionally the chariot-horses were covered from the ears almost to the tail with rich cloths, magnificently embroidered over their whole surface.[3] These cloths encircled the neck, which they closely fitted, and, falling on either side the body, were then kept in place by means of a broad strap round the rump and a girth under the belly.[4]

A simpler style of clothing chariot-horses is found towards the close of the later period, where we



Chariot-horse protected by clothing (Koyunjik).

observe, below the collar, a sort of triple breast-plate, and over the rest of the body a plain cloth, square cut, with flaps descending at the arms and

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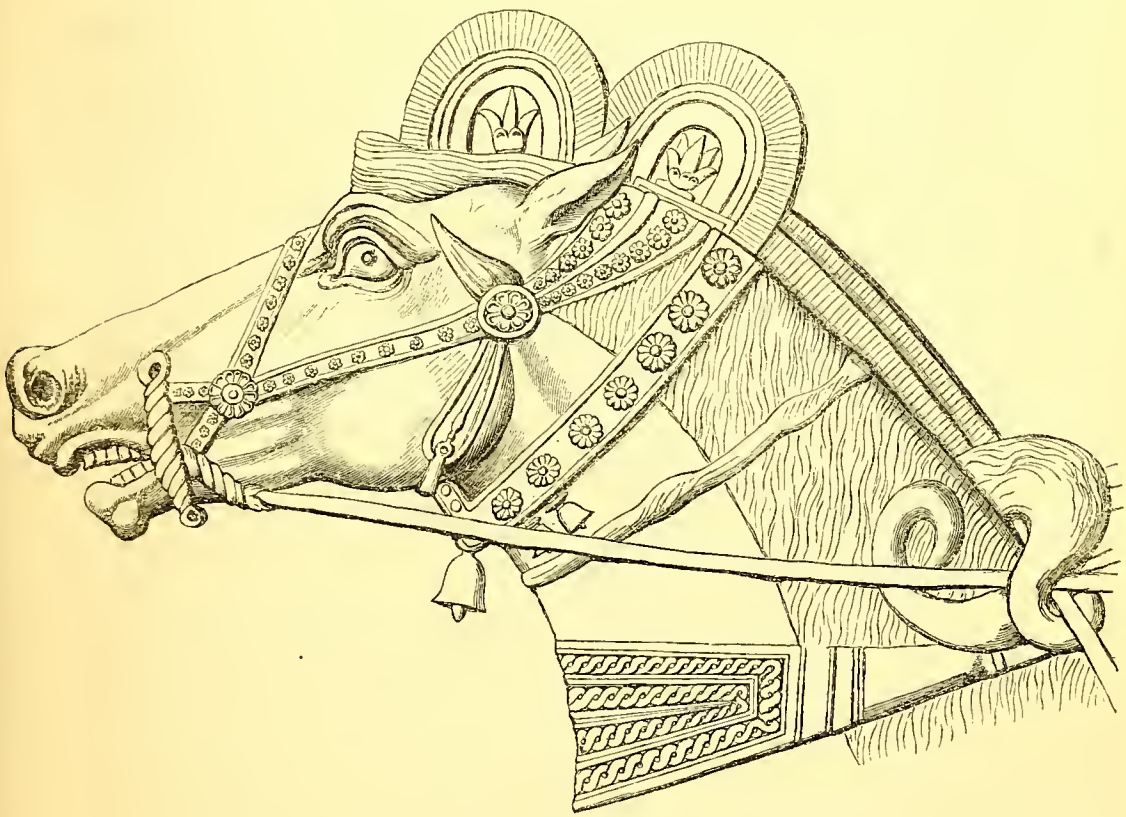
[2] See vol. i. p. 451.

[3] See Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 28; or his *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. opp. p. 350.

[4] Mr. Layard speaks of three straps, one of which "passed round the breast" (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 355); but the breast-strap, to which he alludes, has no connexion with the clothes, and occurs equally on unclothed horses of the early period. (See the representation on p. 13.)

quarters, which is secured in its place by three narrow straps fastened on externally.[5] The earlier kind of clothing has the appearance of being for ornament; but this looks as if it was meant solely for protection.

Besides the trappings already noticed, the Assyrian chariot-horses had frequently strings of beads suspended round their necks, between the ears and the collar; they had also, not unfrequently, tassels or



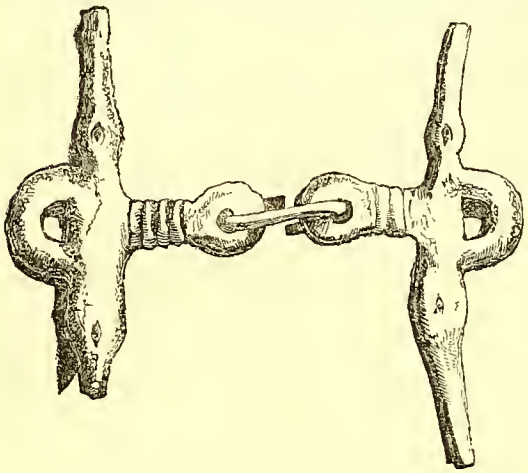
Head of a chariot-horse, showing collar with bells attached (Koyunjik).

bells attached to different parts of the headstall; and finally they had, in the later period, most commonly, a curious ornament upon the forehead, which

[5] The third strap here is on the back, just above the quarters. It is difficult to see how it could have been of any service.

covered almost the whole space between the ears and the eyes, and was composed of a number of minute bosses, coloured, like the tassels of the breast ornament,[6] alternately red and blue.

Each horse appears to have been driven by two reins[7]—one attached to either end of the bit in the ordinary manner, and each passed through a ring or loop in the harness, whereby the rein was kept down and a stronger purchase secured to the driver. The shape of the bit within the mouth, if we may judge by the single instance of an actual bit which



Bronze bit (Nimrud).

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[6] Supra, p. 14. For representations of the ornament in question see vol. i. p. 368, and infra, p. 25.

[7] Yet sometimes where there are three horses, we find eight reins (Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 13 and 14); and often, where there are but two horses, we see six reins. (See above, vol. i. p. 368, and compare Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 72 and 80; 2nd Series, Pls. 23, 24, 29, 42, &c.) I have sometimes doubted whether the Assyrians of the later period did not really drive three horses, while the artists economised their labour by only representing two. It is to be noticed that over the *two* heads there are very often represented *three* plumes (Botta, *Monument*, Pls. 53, 58, 65, &c.; Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 72), and that the practice of economy by the artists is indubitable. For instance, they often show but one, and rarely more than two, of the six reins between the necks and mouths of the chariot-horses, where all six would have been visible; and they sometimes even suppress the *second* horse in a chariot (supra, p. 14; Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pls. 29, 42, and 47). It is, however, on the whole, perhaps most probable that the *three* plumes and the *six* reins are traditional, and held their place in drawings when they had gone out of use in reality. Otherwise we should probably have had some distinct evidence of the continued use of the third horse.

Note that when Sennacherib's horses are being taken from his chariot to cross a river (*Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 41), they are clearly but two in number, and employ but two grooms.

remains to us, bore a near resemblance to the modern

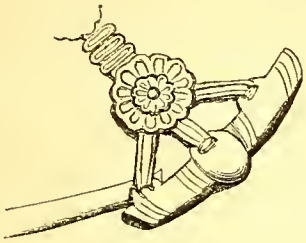


Fig. 1.

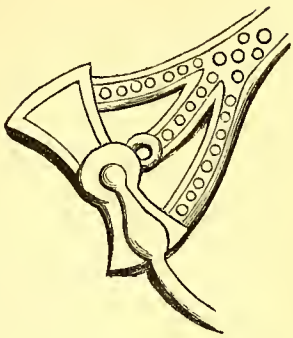


Fig. 2.

Bits of chariot-horses (Nimrud).

snaffle. Externally the bit was large, and in most cases clumsy—a sort of cross-bar extending across the whole side of the horse's face, commonly resembling a double axe-head, or a hammer. Occasionally the shape was varied, the hatchet or hammer being replaced by forms similar to those annexed, or by the figure of a horse at full gallop.[8] The rein seems, in the early times, to have been attached about midway in the cross-bar,[9] while afterwards it became usual to attach it near the lower end.[10] This latter arrangement was probably found to increase the power of the driver.

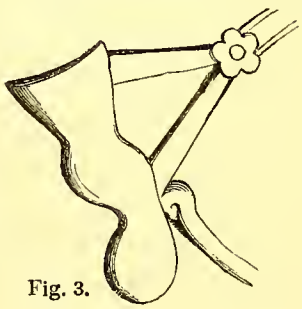


Fig. 3.

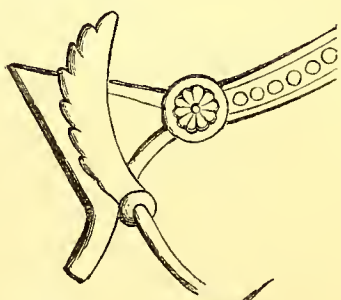


Fig. 4.

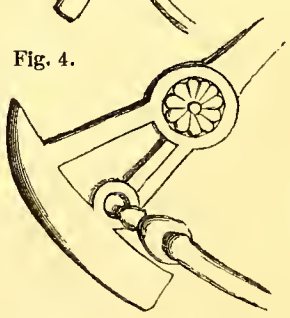


Fig. 5.

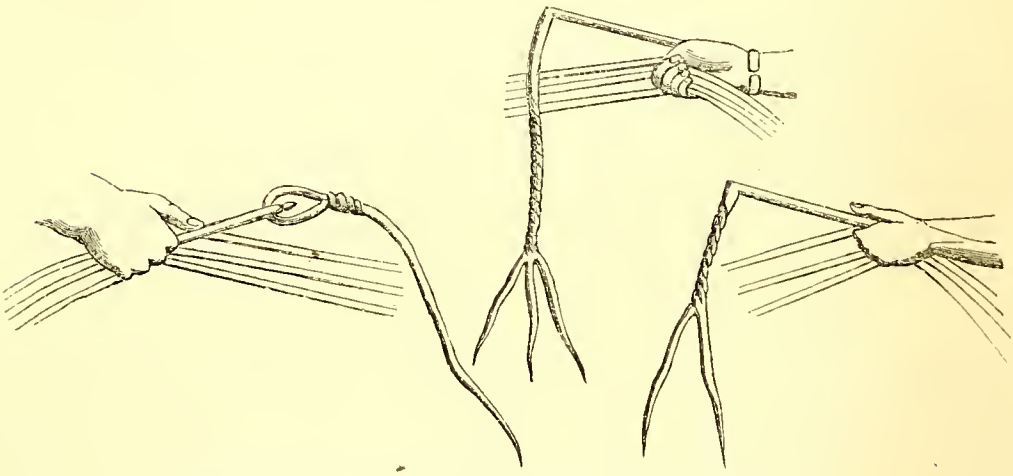
Bits of chariot-horses, from the Sculptures.

The use of the bearing-rein, which prevailed in Egypt,[11] was unknown to the Assyrians, or disapproved by them. The driving-reins were separate, not stitched

[8] Supra, p. 4.
[9] As in figs. 2, 3, and 5, above.
[10] As in figs. 1 and 4 above.
[11] Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 351.

or buckled together, and were held in the two hands separately. The right hand grasped the reins, whatever their number, which were attached at the horses' right cheeks, while the left hand performed the same office with the remaining reins. The charioteer urged his horses onward with a powerful whip, having a short handle, and a thick plaited or twisted lash, attached like the lash of a modern horsewhip, sometimes with, sometimes without a loop, and often subdivided at the end into two or three tails.

Chariot-horses were trained to three paces, a walk, a trot, and a gallop. In battle-pieces they are com-

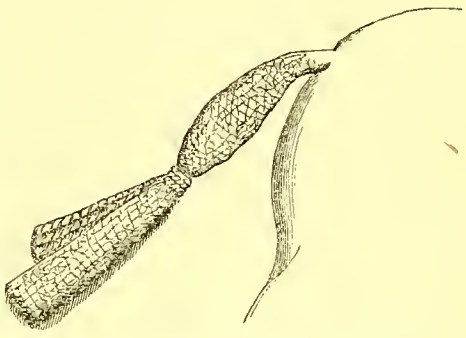


Driving-whips of Assyrian charioteers, from the Sculptures.

monly represented at full speed, in marches trotting, in processions walking in a stately manner. Their manes were frequently hogged,[12] though more commonly they lay on the neck, falling (apparently) upon either side indifferently. Occasionally a portion only was hogged, while the greater part remained in its natural condition.[1] The tail was uncut, and generally almost swept the ground, but was confined by a string or riband tied tightly around it about

[12] See Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 14, 23, &c. [1] Layard, Pl. 72.

midway. Sometimes, more especially in the later sculptures, the lower half of the tail is plaited and tied up into a loop or bunch,[2] according to the fashion which prevails in the present day through most parts of Turkey and Persia.



Mode of tying horses' tails (Koyunjik).

The warrior who fought from a chariot was sometimes merely dressed in a tunic, confined at the waist by a belt; sometimes, however, he wore a coat of mail, very like the Egyptian,[3] consisting of a sort of shirt covered with small plates or scales of metal. This shirt reached at least as low as the knees, beneath which the chariot itself was sufficient protection. It had short sleeves, which covered the shoulder and upper part of the arm, but left the elbow and fore-arm quite undefended.[4] The chief weapon of the warrior was the bow, which is always seen in his hands, usually with the arrow upon the string; he wears, besides, a short sword, suspended at his left side by a strap, and he has commonly a spear within his reach; but we never see him using either of these weapons. He either discharges his arrows against the foe from the standing-board of his chariot, or, commanding the charioteer to halt, descends, and, advancing a few steps before his horses' heads, takes a surer and more deadly aim from *terra firma*. In this case his attendant defends him from missiles by extending in front of him a shield, which he holds in

[2] See the Woodcuts, pp. 8 and 14.

[3] On the subject of Egyptian scale-armour, see Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 79; and compare the same writer's *Ancient Egyptians*, 1st Series, vol. i. p. 332.

[4] See Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 18, 20, and 28.

his left hand, while at the same time he makes ready to repel any close assailant by means of a spear or sword grasped firmly in his right. The warrior's face and arms are always bare; sometimes the entire head is undefended,[5] though more commonly it has the protection of a helmet. This, however, is without a vizor, and does not often so much as cover the ears. In some few instances only is it furnished with flaps or lappets; which, where they exist, seem to be made of metal scales, and, falling over the shoulders, entirely conceal the ears, the back of the head, the neck, and even the chin.[6]

The position occupied by chariots in the military system of Assyria is indicated in several passages of Scripture, and distinctly noticed by many of the classical writers. When Isaiah began to warn his countrymen of the miseries in store for them at the hands of the new enemy which first attacked Judæa in his day, he described them as a people "whose arrows were sharp, and all their bows bent, whose horses' hoofs should be counted like flint, and their *wheels* like a whirlwind."[7] When in after days he was commissioned to raise their drooping courage by assuring them that they would escape Sennacherib, who had angered God by his pride, he noticed, as one special provocation of Jehovah, that monarch's confidence in "the multitude of his *chariots*."[8] Nahum again, having to denounce the approaching downfal of the haughty nation, declares that God is "against her, and will burn her *chariots* in the smoke."[9] In

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[5] Layard, *Monuments*, pls. 11, 27, &c. The attendants who accompany the monarch have their heads uncovered as a general rule.

[6] Ibid. Pls. 18 and 28. See Woodcut, infra, p. 44.

[7] Is. v. 28.

[8] Ibid. xxxvii. 24. Compare 2 K. xix. 23.

[9] Nahum ii. 13. The mention of chariots in verse 4 *may* bear on this point. More probably, however, the

the fabulous account which Ctesias gave of the origin of Assyrian greatness, the war-chariots of Ninus were represented as amounting to nearly eleven thousand,[10] while those of his wife and successor, Semiramis, were estimated at the extravagant number of a hundred thousand![11] Ctesias further stated that the Assyrian chariots, even at this early period, were armed with scythes, a statement contradicted by Xenophon, who ascribes this invention to the Persians,[12] and one which receives no confirmation from the monuments. Amid all this exaggeration and inventiveness one may still trace a knowledge of the fact that war-chariots were highly esteemed by the Assyrians from a very ancient date, while from other notices we may gather that they continued to be reckoned an important arm of the military service to the very end of the Empire.[1]

Next to the war-chariots of the Assyrians we must place their cavalry, which seems to have been of scarcely less importance in their wars. Ctesias, who amid all his exaggerations shows glimpses of some real knowledge of the ancient condition of the Assyrian people, makes the number of the horsemen in their armies always greatly exceed that of the chariots.[2] The writer of the Book of Judith gives Holofernes 12,000 horse-archers,[3] and Ezekiel seems to speak of all the "desirable young men" as "horsemen riding upon horses."[4] The sculptures show on the whole a considerable excess of cavalry over

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chariots intended both in that verse and in iii. 2, are those of Assyria's enemies.

[10] Diod. Sic. ii. 5, § 4.

[11] Ibid. ii. 17, §1. Compare Suidas ad voc. Σεμίραμις.

[12] *De Cyr. Inst.* vi. 1, §30.

[1] Teutamus was said to have sent 200 chariots with Memnon to Troy (Diod. Sic. ii. 22, §2). The same number is assigned by Xenophon to the Assyrian adversary of Cyrus (*De Inst. Cyr.* ii. 1, §5).

[2] Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 5, §4, and 17, §1.

[3] Judith ii. 15.

[4] Ezek. xxiii. 6 and 23.

chariots, though the preponderance is not uniformly exhibited throughout the different periods.

During the time of the Upper dynasty cavalry appear to have been but little used. Tiglath-pileser I. in the whole of his long Inscription has not a single mention of them, though he speaks of his chariots continually. In the sculptures of Asshur-idanni-pal, the father of the Black-Obelisk king, while chariots abound, horsemen occur only in rare instances. Afterwards, under Sargon and Sennacherib, we notice a great change in this respect. The chariot comes to be almost confined to the king, while horsemen are frequent in the battle scenes.

In the first period the horses' trappings consisted of a headstall, a collar, and one or more strings of beads. The headstall was somewhat heavy, closely resembling that of the chariot-horses of the time, representations of which have been already given.[5] It had the same heavy axe-shaped bit, the same arrangement of straps, and nearly the same ornamentation. The only marked difference was the omission of the crest or plume, with its occasional accompaniment of streamers. The collar was very peculiar. It consisted of a broad flap, probably of leather, shaped almost like a half-moon, which was placed on the neck about halfway between the ears and the withers, and thence depended over the breast, where it was broadened out and ornamented by large drooping tassels. Occasionally the collar was plain,[6] but more often it was elaborately patterned. Sometimes pomegranates hung from it, alternating with the tassels.[7]

The cavalry soldiers of this period ride without

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[5] Supra, pp. 2, 8, 11, &c. Compare vol. i. p. 291.

[6] See vol. i. l. s. c.

[7] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 32.

any saddle.[8] Their legs and feet are bare, and their seat is very remarkable. Instead of allowing their legs to hang naturally down the horses' sides, they draw them up till their knees are on a level with their chargers' backs, the object (apparently) being to obtain a firm seat by pressing the base of the horse's neck between the two knees. The naked legs seem to indicate that it was found necessary to obtain the fullest and freest play of the muscles to escape the inconveniences of a fall.

The chief weapon of the cavalry at this time is the bow. Sword and shield indeed are worn, but in no instance do we see them used. Cavalry soldiers are either archers or mere attendants who are without weapons of offence. One of these latter accompanies each horse-archer in battle, for the purpose of holding and guiding his steed while he discharges his arrows. The attendant wears a skull-cap and a plain tunic; the archer has an embroidered tunic, a belt to which his sword is attached, and one of the ordinary pointed helmets.

In the second period the cavalry consists in part of archers, in part of spearmen. Unarmed attendants are no longer found, both spearmen and archers appearing to be able to manage their own horses. Saddles have now come into common use: they consist of a simple cloth, or flap of leather, which is either cut square, or shaped somewhat like the saddle-cloths of our own cavalry.[9] A single girth beneath

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[8] For a representation, see *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 357. Saddles are not absolutely unknown, for on the horse which a mounted attendant leads for the king behind his chariot, we see in every instance a square-cut cloth, fringed and patterned. (Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 11, 21, 32, and 49, 1.) But no other horse besides the king's is thus caparisoned.

[9] The square shape (supra, vol. i. p. 291) is, apparently, reserved for the monarch and his immediate attendants. Ordinary soldiers have the cloth which runs out to a point (infra, pp. 25, 26). Sometimes, even during this period, there is no saddle.

the belly is their ordinary fastening; but sometimes they are further secured by means of a strap or band passed round the breast, and a few instances occur of a second strap passed round the quarters. The breast-strap is generally of a highly ornamented character. The headstall of this period is not unlike the earlier one, from which it differs chiefly in having a crest, and also a forehead ornament composed of a number of small bosses. It has likewise commonly a strap across the nose, but none under the cheek-bones. It is often richly ornamented, particularly with rosettes, bells, and tassels.[10]

The old pendant collar is replaced by one encircling the neck about halfway up, or is sometimes dispensed with altogether. Where it occurs, it is generally of uniform width, and is ornamented with rosettes or tassels. No conjecture has been formed of any use which either form of collar could serve; and the probability is, that they were intended solely for ornament.

A great change is observable in the sculptures of the second period with respect to the dress of the riders. The cavalry soldier is now completely clothed,[11] with the exception of his two arms, which are bare from a little below the shoulder. He wears most commonly a tunic which fits him closely about the body, but below the waist expands into a loose kilt or petticoat, very much longer behind than in front, which is sometimes patterned, and always terminates in a fringe. Round his waist he has a broad

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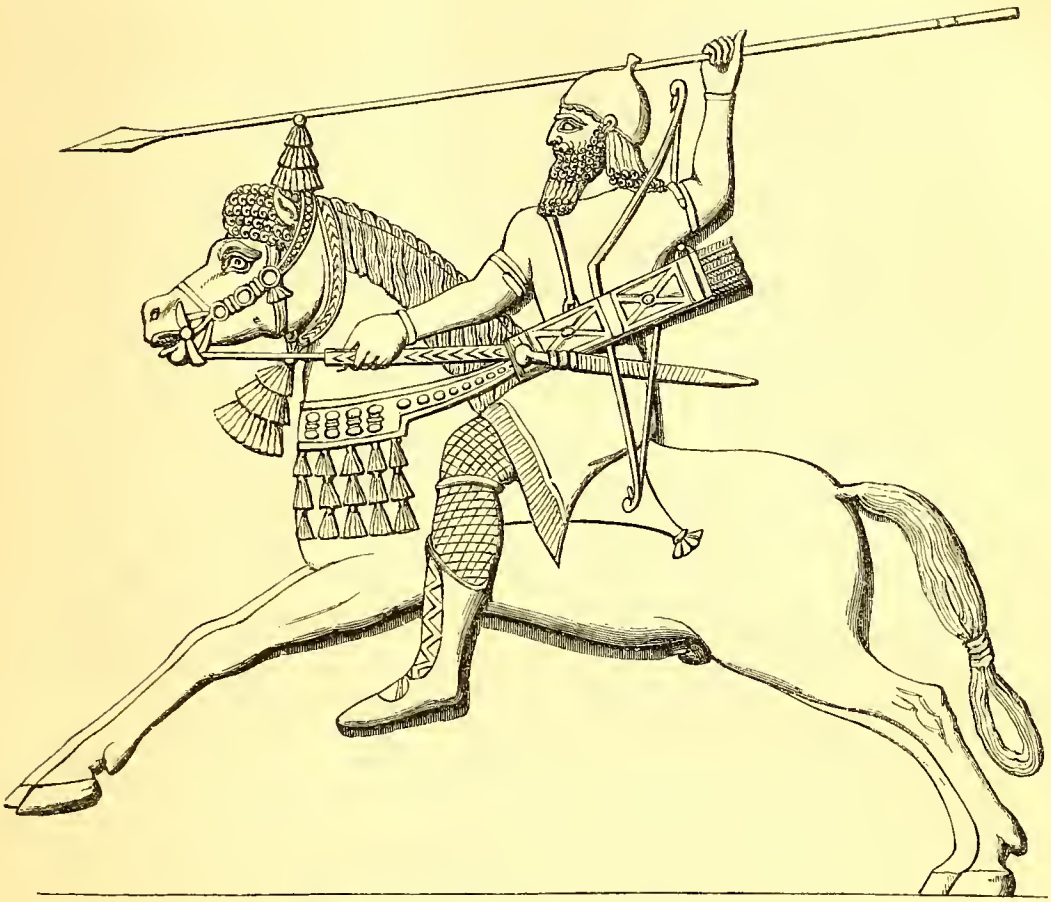
(Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 64; Botta, *Monument*, vol. ii. Pls. 87, 88, 94, 99, &c.)

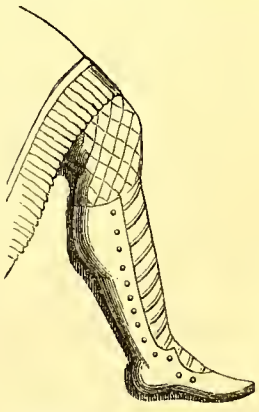
[10] See the "Head of an Assyrian Horse," in vol. i. p. 291, and the "Groom and Horses," p. 436.

[11] A few instances occur where the legs are still naked, more especially in Sargon's sculptures (Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 64; Botta, *Monument*, vol. ii. Pls. 87, 142). But the *rule* is as stated in the text.



Mounted spearman of the time of Sargon.

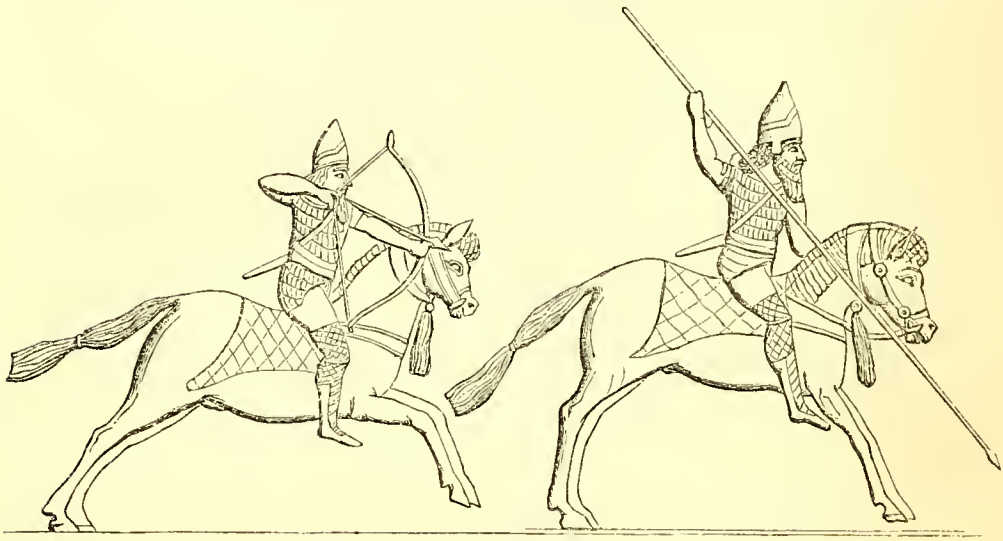
belt; and another, of inferior width, from which a sword hangs, passes over his left shoulder.[1] His legs are encased in a close-fitting pantaloon or trouser, over which he wears a laced boot or greave, which generally reaches nearly to the knee, though sometimes it only covers about half the calf. This costume, which is first found in the time of Sargon and continues to the reign of Asshur-bani-pal, Esarhaddon's son, may properly be regarded as the regular cavalry uniform under the monarchs of the Lower



Greave or laced boot.

[1] Sometimes this belt passes over the right shoulder; sometimes it is omitted altogether, and the spearman or archer has no sword.

Empire. In Sennacherib's reign there is found in conjunction with it another costume, which is unknown to the earlier sculptures. This consists of a dress closely fitting the whole body, composed apparently of a coat of mail, leather or felt breeches, and a high greave or jack-boot. The wearers of this costume



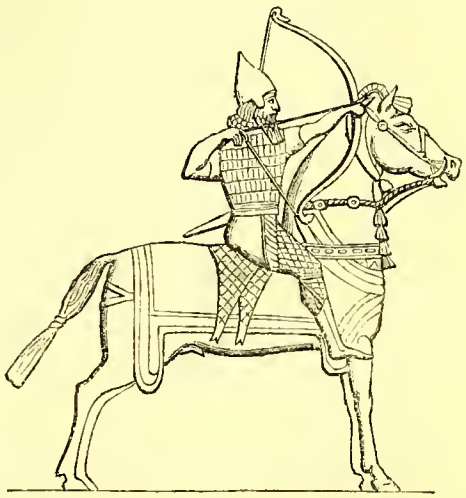
Cavalry soldiers of the time of Sennacherib.

are spearmen or archers indifferently. The former carry a long weapon, which has generally a rather small head, and is grasped low down the shaft. The bow of the latter is either round-arched or angular, and seems to be not more than four feet in length; the arrows measure less than three feet, and are slung in a quiver at the archer's back. Both spearmen and archers commonly carry swords, which are hung on the left side, in a diagonal, or sometimes nearly in a horizontal position. In some few cases the spearman is also an archer, and carries his bow on his right arm, apparently as a reserve in case he should break or lose his spear.[2]

The seat of the horseman is far more graceful in

[2] See the Woodcut on the preceding page.

the second than in the first period; his limbs appear to move freely, and his mastery over his horse is such that he needs no attendant. The spearman holds the bridle in his left hand; the archer boldly lays it upon the neck of his steed, who is trained either to continue his charge, or to stand firm, while a steady aim is taken.



Horse archer of the latest period.

In the sculptures of the son and successor of Esarhaddon, the horses of the cavalry carry not unfrequently, in addition to the ordinary saddle or pad, a large cloth nearly similar to that worn sometimes by chariot-horses, of which a representation has been already given.[3] It is cut square with two drooping lappets, and covers the greater part of the body. Occasionally it is united to a sort of breastplate which protects the neck, descending about halfway down the chest. The material may be supposed to have been thick felt or leather, either of which would have been a considerable protection against weapons.

While the cavalry and the chariots were regarded as the most important portions of the military force, and were the favourite services with the rich and powerful, there is still abundant reason to believe that Assyrian armies, like most others,[4] consisted mainly

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[3] Supra, p. 14.

[4] In settled empires the cavalry rarely amounts to one-fifth of the infantry force. In early Rome the proportion seems to have been one-tenth (Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. i. p. 97, E. T.); in the imperial legion it was little more than a twentieth.

of foot. Ctesias gives Ninus 1,700,000 footmen to 210,000 horsemen, and 10,600 chariots.[5] Xenophon contrasts the multitude of the Assyrian infantry with the comparatively scanty numbers of the other two services.[6] Herodotus makes the Assyrians serve in the army of Xerxes on foot only.[7] The author of the Book of Judith assigns to Holofernes an infantry force ten times as numerous as his cavalry.[8] The Assyrian monuments entirely bear out the general truth involved in all these assertions, showing us, as they do, at least ten Assyrian warriors on foot for each one mounted on horseback, and at least a hundred for each one who rides in a chariot. However terrible to the foes of the Assyrians may have been the shock of their chariots and the impetuosity of their horsemen, it was probably to the solidity of the infantry,[1] to their valour, equipment, and discipline, that the empire was mainly indebted for its long series of victories.

In the time of the earliest sculptures, all the Assyrian foot-soldiers seem to have worn nearly the same costume. This consisted of a short tunic, not quite

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Among the Persians it was even less than this, being only one-twenty-fifth at Arbela (Arr. *Exp. Al.* iii. 8). Alexander the Great, who laid great stress on the cavalry service, made the proportion in his armies one-sixth, or a little more (ibid. i. 11; iii. 12, &c.). It is only when races are in the nomadic condition that the relation of the two arms is inverted. The hordes of Genghis consisted almost entirely of cavalry, and the Scythians attacked by Darius had not a footman among them. (Herod. iv. 46.)

[5] Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 5, § 4.

[6] *De Inst. Cyr.* ii. 1, § 5.

[7] Herod. vii. 84-87.

[8] Judith ii. 5.

[1] The Prophet Isaiah, while seizing such salient points as the "horses' hoofs that are counted like flint," and the chariot "wheels, that are like a whirlwind," to give force to his description, assigns its due place to the Assyrian infantry, of which he says: "They shall come with speed, swiftly; none shall be weary nor stumble among them; none shall slumber nor sleep; neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken; whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent." (Is. v. 27, 28.)

reaching to the knees, confined round the waist by a broad belt, fringed, and generally opening in front, together with a pointed helmet, probably of metal. The arms, legs, neck, and even the feet, were ordinarily bare, although these last had sometimes the protection of a very simple sandal. Swordsmen used a small straight sword or dagger which they wore at their left side in an ornamented sheath, and a shield which was either convex and probably of metal, or oblong-square and composed of wicker-work.[2] Spearmen had shields of a similar shape and construction, and carried in their right hands a short pike or javelin, certainly not exceeding five feet in length. Sometimes, but not always, they carried, besides the pike, a short sword. Archers had rounded bows about four feet in length and arrows a little more than three feet long. Their quivers, which were often highly ornamented, hung at their backs, either over the right or over the left shoulder. They had swords suspended at their left sides by a cross-belt, and often carried maces, probably of bronze or iron, which bore a rosette or other ornament at one end, and a ring or strap at the other. The tunics of archers were sometimes elaborately embroidered;[3]

Ordinary sandal of the first period.

Convex shield of the first period (Nimrud).

Foot spearman of the first period, with wicker shield (Nimrud).

[2] Round shields or targes are also sometimes worn by swordsmen at this time (Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 29); but they are comparatively uncommon.

[3] Layard, Pl. 26.

and on the whole they seem to have been regarded as the flower of the foot-soldiery. Generally they are represented in pairs, the two being in most cases armed and equipped alike; but, occasionally, one of the pair acts as guard while the other takes his aim. In this case both kneel on one knee, and the guard, advancing his long wicker shield, protects both himself and his comrade from missiles, while he has at the same time his sword drawn to repel all hand-to-hand assailants.

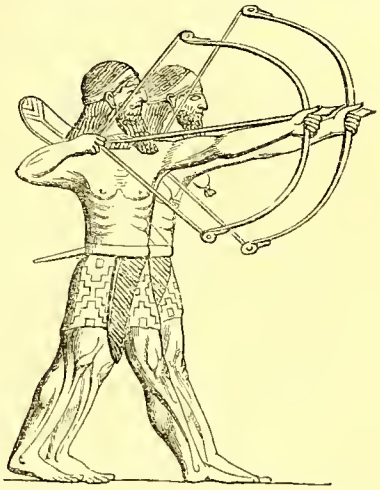
Foot archer, with attendant—first period (Nimrud).

In the early part of the second period, which synchronises with the reign of Sargon, the difference in the costumes of the foot-soldiers becomes much more marked. The Assyrian infantry now consists of two great classes, archers and spearmen.[4] The archers are either light-armed or heavy-armed, and of the latter there are two clearly distinct varieties. The light-armed have no helmet, but wear on their heads a mere fillet or band, which is either plain or patterned. Except for a cross-belt which supports the quiver, they are wholly naked to the middle. Their only garment is a tunic of the scantiest dimensions, beginning at the waist, round which it is fastened by a broad belt or girdle, and descending little more than halfway down the thigh. In its make it sometimes closely resembles the tunic of the first period,[5]

[4] Swordsmen scarcely appear as a class. They occur only in twos and threes at the sieges, where they exactly resemble the swordsmen of the first period.

[5] See Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, vol. i. Pl. 61.

but more often it has the peculiar pendant ornament, which has been compared to the Scotch phillibeg,[6] and which will be here given that name. It is often patterned with squares and gradines. The light-armed archer has usually bare feet; occasionally, however, he wears the slight sandal of this period, which is little more than a cap for the heel held in place by two or three strings passed across the instep. There is nothing remarkable in his arms, which resemble those of the preceding period; but it may be observed that, while shooting, he frequently holds two arrows in his right hand besides that which is upon the string. He shoots either kneeling or standing, generally the latter. His ordinary position is in the van of battle, though sometimes a portion of the heavy-armed troops precede him.[7] He has no shield, and is not protected by an attendant,[8] thus running more risk than any of the rest of the army.



Foot archers of the lightest equipment. (Time of Sargon.)

The more simply equipped of the heavy archers are clothed in a coat of mail, which reaches from their neck to their middle, and partially covers the arms. Below this they wear a fringed tunic reaching to the knees, and confined at the waist by a broad belt of the ordinary character. Their feet have in most instances the protection of a sandal, and they wear on their heads the common or

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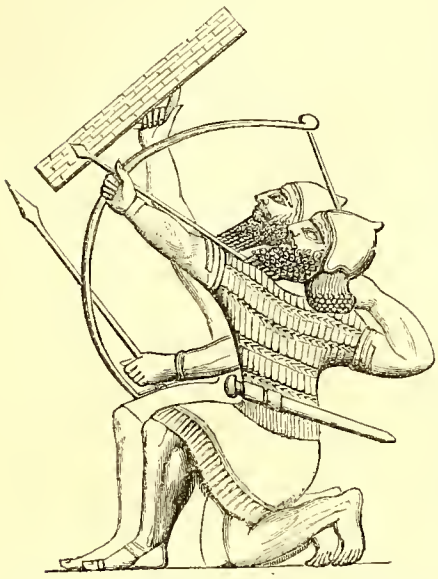
[6] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 336.

[7] Botta, Pls. 95 and 98.

[8] One instance only of such protection is to be found in M. Botta's work. (See vol. i. Pl. 62.)

pointed helmet. They usually discharge their arrows kneeling on the left knee, with the right foot advanced before them. During this operation they are protected by an attendant, who is sometimes dressed like themselves, sometimes merely clad in a tunic, without a coat of mail. Like them, he wears a pointed helmet; and while in one hand he carries a spear, with the other he holds forward a shield, which is either of a round form—apparently, of metal embossed with figures[9]—or oblong-square in shape, and evidently made of wickerwork. Archers of this class are the least common, and scarcely ever occur unless in combination with some of the class which has the heaviest equipment.



Foot archer of the intermediate equipment, with attendant. (Time of Sargon.)

The principal characteristic of the third or most heavily armed class of archers is the long robe, richly fringed, which descends nearly to their feet, thus completely protecting all the lower part of their person. Above this they wear a coat of mail exactly resembling that of archers of the intermediate class, which is sometimes crossed by a belt ornamented with cross-bars. Their head is covered by the usual pointed helmet, and their feet are always, or nearly always, protected by sandals. They are occasionally represented without either sword or quiver,[10] but more usually they have a short sword at their left side, which appears to

[9] See the Woodcuts, infra, p. 50. [10] See the Woodcut on the next page.

have been passed through their coat of mail, between the armour plates, and in a few instances they have also quivers at their backs.[1] Where these are lacking, they generally either carry two extra arrows in their right hand,[2] or have the same number borne for them by an attendant.[3] Theya re never seen unattended: sometimes they have one, sometimes two attendants,[4] who accompany them, and guard them from attack. One of these almost always bears the long wicker shield, called by the Greeks γέρρον,[5] which he rests firmly upon the ground in front of himself and comrade. The other, where there is a second, stands a little in the rear, and guards the archer's head with a round shield or targe. Both attendants are dressed in a short tunic, a phillibeg, a belt, and a pointed helmet. Generally they wear also a coat of mail and sandals, like those of the archer. They carry swords at their left sides, and the principal attendant, except when he bears the archer's arrows, guards him from attack by holding in advance a short spear. The archers of this class never kneel,

Foot archer of the heavy equipment, with attendant. (Time of Sargon.)

[1] Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, vol. i. Pl. 60.

[2] Ibid. vol. i. Pl. 77.

[3] Ibid. vol. i. Pl. 62; vol. ii. Pl. 99.

[4] Two attendants are comparatively uncommon, but they will be seen in M. Botta's work, Pls. 55, 60, and 95; possibly also in Pl. 99.

[5] Herod. ix. 62; Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 9. Sometimes the γέρρον is straight, sometimes it curves backwards towards the top. (See below, p. 48.)

but always discharge their arrows standing. They seem to be regarded as the most important of the foot-soldiers, their services being more particularly valuable in the siege of fortified places.

The spearmen of this period are scarcely better armed than the second or intermediate class of archers. Except in very rare instances they have no coat of mail, and their tunic, which is either plain or covered with small squares, barely reaches to the knee. The most noticeable point about them is their helmet, which is never the common pointed or conical one, but is always surmounted by a crest of one kind or another.[6] A further very frequent peculiarity is the arrangement of their cross-belts, which meet on the back and breast, and are ornamented at the points of junction with a circular disk, probably of metal. The shield of the spearmen is also circular, and is formed—generally, if not always—of wicker-work, with (occasionally) a central boss of wood or metal. In most cases their legs are wholly bare; but sometimes they have sandals, while in one or two instances[7] they wear a low boot or greave laced in front and resembling that of the cavalry.[8] The

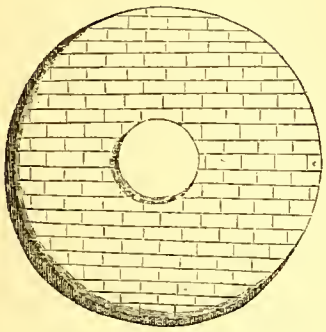
Foot spearman of the time of Sargon (Khorsabad).

[6] On the variety in the crests of Assyrian helmets, see below, page 45.

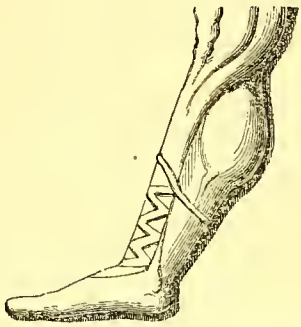
[7] Botta, *Monument*, vol. ii. Pls. 90 and 93.

[8] Vide supra, page 25.

spear with which they are armed varies in length, from about four to six feet. It is grasped near the

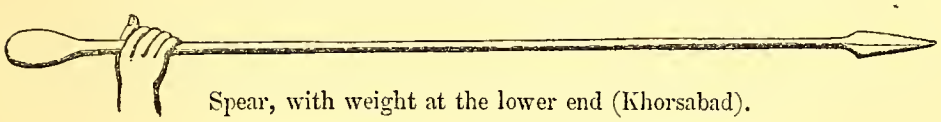


Shield of a spearman (Khorsabad).



Greave of a spearman (Khorsabad).

lower extremity, at which a weight was sometimes attached, in order the better to preserve the balance.



Spear, with weight at the lower end (Khorsabad).

Besides this weapon they have the ordinary short sword. The spearmen play an important part in the Assyrian wars, particularly at sieges, where they always form the strength of the storming party.

Some important changes seem to have been made under Sennacherib in the equipment and organisation of the infantry force. These consisted chiefly in the establishment of a greater number of distinct corps differently armed, and in an improved equipment of the more important of them. Sennacherib appears to have been the first to institute a corps of slingers, who at any rate make their earliest appearance in his sculptures. They were a kind of soldier well known to the Egyptians;[9] and Sen-

[9] See Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, 1st Series, vol. i. p. 316. A slinger is represented among the enemies of the Assyrians in one of the earliest sculptures. (Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 29.)

nacherib's acquaintance with the Egyptian warfare may have led to their introduction among the troops of Assyria. The slinger in most countries where his services were employed was lightly clad, and reckoned almost as a supernumerary. It is remarkable that in Assyria he is, at first, completely armed according to Assyrian ideas of completeness, having a helmet, a coat of mail to the waist, a tunic to the knees, a close-fitting trouser, and a short boot or greave. The weapon which distinguishes him appears to have consisted of two pieces of rope or string,[1] attached to a short leathern strap which received the stone. Previous to making his throw, the slinger seems to have whirled the weapon around his head two or three times, in order to obtain an increased impetus—a practice which was also known to the Egyptians and the Romans.[2] With regard to ammunition, it does not clearly appear how the Assyrian slinger was supplied. He has no bag like the Hebrew slinger,[3] no *sinus* like the Roman.[4] Frequently we see him simply provided with a single extra stone which he carries in his left hand. Sometimes, besides this reserve, he has a small heap of stones at his feet; but whether he has collected them from the field, or

Sling (Koyunjik).

[1] Sometimes the twist of the string is very clearly discernible, as represented above in the woodcut.

[2] For the Roman usage see the well-known lines of Virgil,—

"Stridentem fundam, positis Mezentius hastis,
Ipse *ter* adducta *circum caput egit* habena."
—*Æn.* ix. 586, 587.

For the Egyptian, consult Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 1st Series, vol. i. p. 316.

[3] "And David took his staff in his hand, and chose him five smooth stones out of the brook, and put them in a shepherd's *bag* which he had, even in a scrip, and his sling was in his hand," &c. (1 Sam. xvii. 40.)

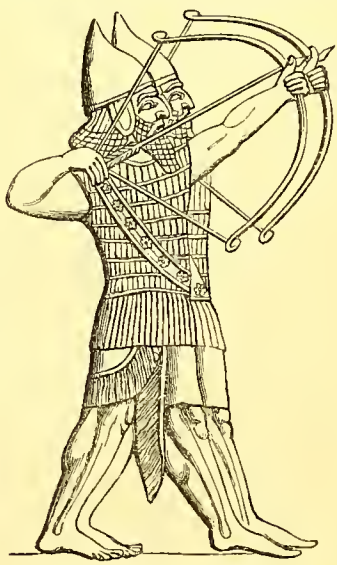
[4] See a representation in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, s. v. FUNDA.

has brought them with him and deposited them where they lie, is not apparent.

Sennacherib's archers fall into four classes, two of which may be called heavy-armed and two light-armed. None of them exactly resemble the archers of Sargon. The most heavily equipped wears a tunic, a coat of mail reaching to the waist, a pointed helmet, a close-fitting trouser, and a short boot or greave. He is accompanied by an attendant (or sometimes by two attendants [5]) similarly attired, and fights behind a large wicker shield or *gerrhon*. A modification of this costume is worn by the second class, the archers of which have bare legs, a tunic which seems to open at the side, and a phillibeg. They fight without the protection of a shield, generally in pairs, who shoot together.

Foot archer of the heavy equipment, with attendant. (Time of Sennacherib.)

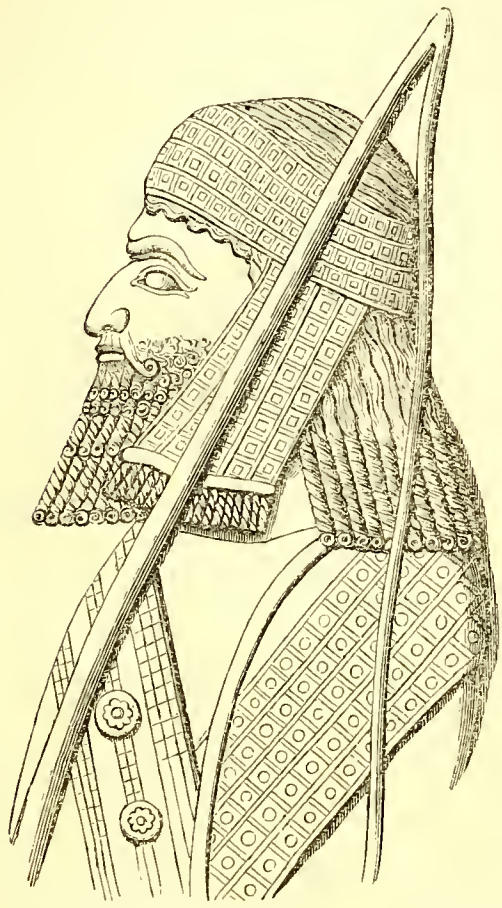
The better equipped of the light-armed archers of this period have a costume which is very striking. Their head-dress consists of a broad fillet, elaborately



Foot archers of the second class. (Time of Sennacherib.)

[5] See Layard's *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 20.

patterned, from which there often depends on either side of the head a large lappet, also richly ornamented, generally of an oblong-square shape, and terminating in a fringe. Below this they wear a closely-fitting tunic, as short as that worn by the light-armed archers of Sargon,[6] sometimes patterned, like that, with squares and gradines, sometimes absolutely plain. The upper part of this tunic is crossed by two belts of very unusual breadth, which pass respectively over the right and the left shoulder. There is also a third broad belt round the waist; and both this and the transverse belts are adorned with elegant patterns. The phillibeg depends from the girdle, and is seen in its full extent, hanging either in front or on the right side. The arms are naked from the shoulder, and the legs from considerably above the knee, the feet alone being protected by a scanty sandal.[7] The ordinary short sword is worn at the side, and a quiver is carried at the back; the latter



Belts and head-dress of a foot archer of the third class. (Time of Sennacherib.)

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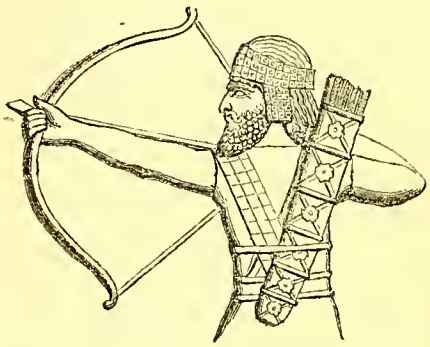
[6] See above, page 31.

[7] Sometimes the feet also are bare. (Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 20.)

is sometimes kept in place by means of a horizontal strap which passes over it and round the body.

The archers of the lightest equipment wear nothing but a fillet, with or without lappets, upon the head, and a striped tunic,[8] longer behind than in front, which extends from the neck to the knees, and is confined at the waist by a girdle. Their arms, legs, and feet are bare; they have seldom any sword; and their quiver seems to be suspended only by a single horizontal strap, like that represented in the last woodcut. They do not appear very often upon the monuments: when seen, they are interspersed among archers and soldiers of other classes.



Mode of carrying the quiver. (Time of Sennacherib.)

Foot archers of the lightest equipment. (Time of Sennacherib.)

Sennacherib's foot spearmen are of two classes only. The better armed have pointed helmets, with lappets protecting the ears, a coat of mail descending to the waist and also covering all the upper part of the arms, a tunic opening at the side, a phillibeg,

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[8] This tunic is very incorrectly represented by Mr. Layard's artist in Pl. 20 of the 2nd Series of *Monuments*. He has omitted almost all the stripes, and has only in one instance sufficiently marked the fall of the tunic behind.

close-fitting trousers, and greaves of the ordinary character. They carry a large convex shield, apparently of metal, which covers them almost from head to foot, and a spear somewhat less than their own height.[9] Commonly they have a short sword at their right side. Their shield is often ornamented with rows of bosses towards the centre and around the edge. It is ordinarily carried in front;[1] but when the warrior is merely upon the march, he often bears it slung at his back, as in the accompanying representation. There is reason to suspect that the spearmen of this description constituted the royal body-guard. They are comparatively few in number, and are usually seen in close proximity to the monarch, or in positions which imply trust, as in the care of prisoners and of the spoil. They never make the attacks in sieges, and are rarely observed to be engaged in battle. Where several of them are seen together, it is almost always in attendance upon the king, whom they constantly precede upon his journeys.[2]

Foot spearman of the time of Sennacherib.

The inferior spearmen of Sennacherib are armed nearly like those of Sargon.[3] They have crested

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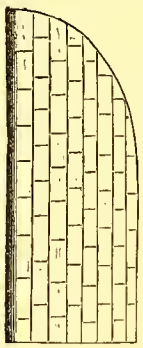
[9] The spear in the accompanying representation is somewhat longer, and the shield somewhat shorter than usual.

[1] See the representation in Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 345.

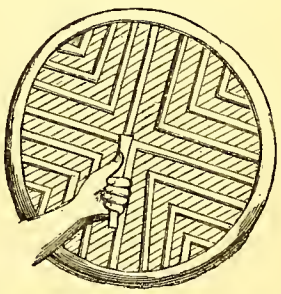
[2] See Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 72 and 80; 2nd Series, Pls. 29, 42, and 43.

[3] Supra, p. 34.

helmets, plain tunics confined at the waist by a broad girdle, cross-belts ornamented with circular disks where they meet in the centre of the breast, and, most commonly, round wicker shields. The chief points wherein they differ from Sargon's spearmen are the following: they usually (though not universally) wear trousers and greaves; they have sleeves to their tunics, which descend nearly to the elbow; and they carry sometimes, instead of the round shield, a long convex one arched at the top. Where they have not this defence, but the far commoner targe, it is always of larger dimensions than the targe of Sargon, and is generally surrounded by a rim. Sometimes it appears to be of metal; but more often it is of wickerwork, either of the plain construction common in Sargon's time, or of one considerably more elaborate.



Wicker shield of spearmen. (Time of Sennacherib.)



Wicker shield or targe. (Time of Sennacherib.)

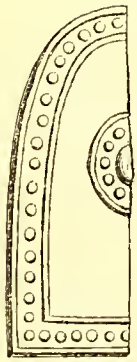
Among the foot soldiers of Sennacherib we seem to find a corps of pioneers.[4] They wear the same dress as the better equipped of the spearmen, but carry in their hands, instead of a spear, a double-headed axe or hatchet, wherewith they clear the ground for the passage and movements of the army. They work in pairs, one pulling at the tree by its branches while the other attacks the stem with his weapon.

After Sennacherib's time we find but few altera-

[4] See Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 76.

tions in the equipment of the foot soldiers. Esarhaddon has left us no sculptures, and in those of his son and successor, Asshur-bani-pal, the costumes of Sennacherib are for the most part reproduced almost exactly. The chief difference is, that there are not at this time quite so many varieties of equipment, both archers and spearmen being alike divided into two classes only, light-armed and heavy-armed. The light-armed archers correspond to Sennacherib's bowmen of the third class.[5] They have the fillet, the plain tunic, the cross-belts, the broad girdle, and the phillibeg. They differ only in having no lappets over the ears and no sandals. The heavy-armed archers resemble the first class[6] of Sennacherib exactly, except that they are not seen shooting from behind the *gerrhon*.

In the case of the spearmen, the only novelty consists in the shields. The spearmen of the heavier equipment, though sometimes they carry the old convex oval shield, more often have one which is made straight at the bottom and rounded only at top. The spearmen of the lighter equipment have likewise commonly a shield of this shape, but it is of wickerwork instead of metal, like that borne occasionally by the light-armed spearmen of Sennacherib.[7]



Metal shield of the latest period.

Besides spearmen and archers, we see among the foot soldiers of Asshur-bani-pal, slingers, mace-bearers, and men armed with battle-axes. For the slingers Sennacherib's heavy equipment[8] has been

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[5] Supra, p. 38. [6] Supra, p. 37. [7] A representation of this shield is given on the last page. [8] Supra, p. 36.

discarded; and they wear nothing but a plain tunic, with a girdle and cross-belts. The mace-bearers and men with axes have the exact dress of Asshur-bani-pal's heavy-armed spearmen, and may possibly be spearmen who have broken or lost their weapons. It makes, however, against this view, that they have no shields, which spearmen always carry. Perhaps, therefore, we must conclude that towards the close of the empire, besides spearmen, slingers, and archers, there were distinct corps of mace-bearers[9] and axe-bearers.

Slinger. (Time of Asshur-bani-pal.)

The arms used by the Assyrians have been mentioned, and to a certain extent described, in the foregoing remarks upon the various classes of their soldiers. Some further details may, however, be now added on their character and on the variety observable in them.

The common Assyrian pointed helmet has been sufficiently described already, and has received abundant illustration both in the present and in former chapters. It was at first regarded as Scythic in character; but Mr. Layard long ago observed[1] that the resemblance which it bears to the Scythian cap is too slight to prove any connexion. That cap appears, whether we follow the foreign or the native representations of it,[2] to have been of felt, whereas

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[9] According to Herodotus, the Assyrians in the army of Xerxes "carried lances, daggers, and *wooden clubs knotted with iron*." (ῥόπαλα ξύλων τετυλωμένα σιδήρῳ. Herod. vii. 63). It is possible that this may be a sort of periphrasis for maces, which were not in use among the Greeks of his day.

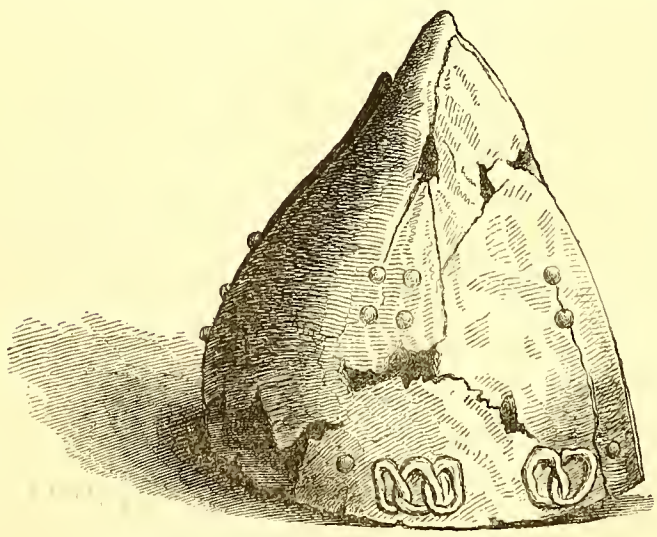
[1] *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 341.

[2] For foreign representations, see

the Assyrian pointed helmet was made of metal; it was much taller than the Assyrian head-dress, and it was less upright.

The pointed helmet admtited of but few varieties. In its simplest form it was a plain conical casque, with one or two rings round the base, and generally with a half-disk in front directly over the forehead. Sometimes, however, there was appended to it a falling curtain covered with metal scales, whereby the chin, neck, ears, and back of the head were protected. More often it had, in lieu of this effectual but cumbrous guard, a mere lappet or cheek-piece, consisting of a plate of metal, attached to the rim, which descended over the ears in the form of a half oval or semi-circle. If we may judge by the remains actually found, the chief material of the helmet was iron;[3] copper was used only for the rings and the half-disk in front, which were inlaid into the harder metal.

Pointed helmet, with curtain of scales (Nimrud).



Iron helmet (from Koyunjik).

As if to compensate themselves for the uniformity

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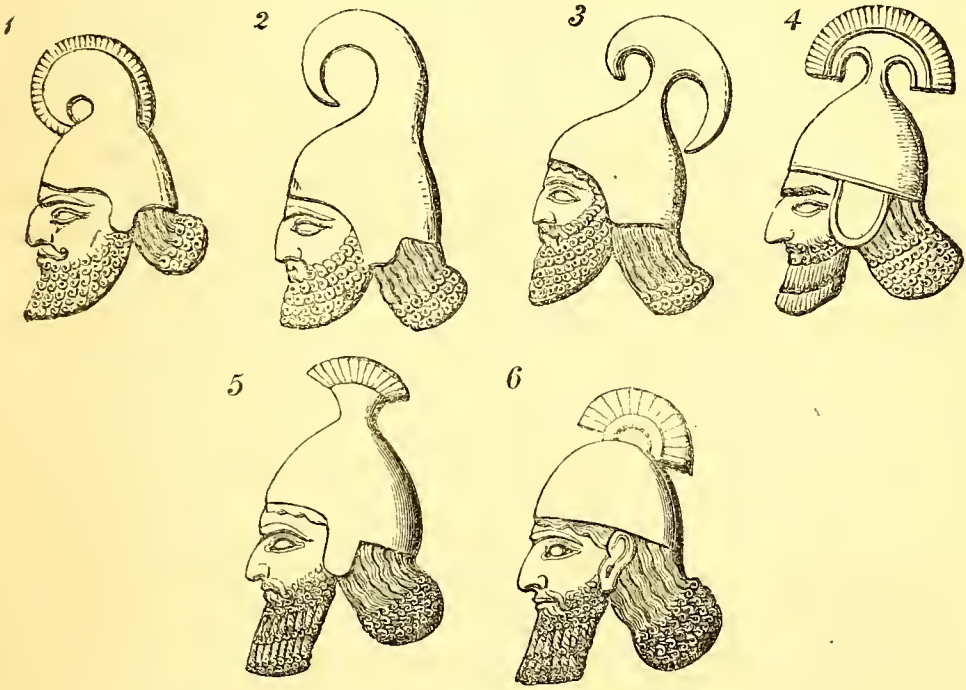
the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 65; and for a native one, see the same work, vol. iii. p. 69.

[3] *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 339. In later times, if we may believe Herodotus, the material of the Assyrian helmets was brass. (Herod. vii. 63.)

to which they submitted in this instance, the Assyrians indulged in a great variety of crested helmets. We cannot positively say that they invented the crest;[4] but they certainly dealt with it in the free spirit which is usually seen where a custom is of home growth and not a foreign importation. They used either a plain metal crest, or one surmounted by tufts of hair; and they either simply curved the



Assyrian crested helmets, from the bas-reliefs.

crest forwards over the front of the helmet, or extended it and carried it backwards also. In this

[4] The statement of Herodotus (i. 171) that crests were invented by the Carians is not worth very much; but it at least indicates his belief that the crest was adopted by the Greeks from the Asiatics. The first distinct evidence we have of them is in the Egyptian representations of the *Shairetana*, an Asiatic people, about B.C. 1200. Homer ascribes them to the Greeks in the time of the Trojan War, which was perhaps earlier than this; and they must at any rate have been common in Greece in his own age, which was probably the 9th century B.C. We cannot prove that they were known to the Assyrians much before B.C. 700.

latter case they generally made the curve a complete semicircle, while occasionally they were content with a small segment, less even than a quarter of a circle.[5] They also varied considerably the shape of the lappet over the ear, and the depth of the helmet behind and before the lappet.

Assyrian coats of mail were of three sizes, and of two different constructions. In the earlier times they were worn long, descending either to the feet or to the knees; and at this period they seem to have been composed simply of successive rows of similar iron scales sewn on to a shirt of linen or felt. Under the later monarchs the coat of mail reached no lower than the waist, and it was composed of alternate bands of dissimilar arrangement and perhaps of different material. Mr. Layard suggests that at this time the scales, which were larger than before, were "fastened to bands of iron or copper."[6] But it is perhaps more probable that scales of the old character alternated in rows with scales of a new shape and smaller dimensions. The old scales were oblong, squared at one end and rounded at the other, very much resembling the Egyptian. They were from two to three inches, or more, in length, and were placed side by side, so that their greater length corresponded with the height of the wearer. The new scales seem to have been not more than an inch long; they appear to have been pointed at one end, and to have been laid horizontally, each a little over-

Scale (Egyptian).

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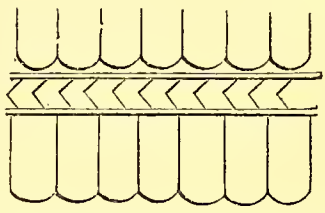
[5] See Fig. 5, which is taken from the Khorsabad sculptures.

[6] See *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 336.

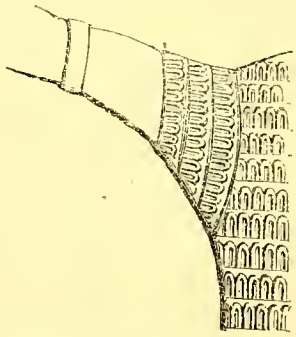
lapping its fellow.[7] It was probably found that this construction, while possessing quite as much strength as the other, was more favourable to facility of movement.



Arrangement of scales in Assyrian scale-armour of the second period (Khorsabad).

Remains of armour belonging to the second period have been discovered in the Assyrian ruins.[8] The scales are frequently embossed over their whole surface with groups of figures and fanciful ornaments. The small scales of the first period have no such elaborate ornamentation, being simply embossed in the centre with a single straight line, which is of copper inlaid into the iron.[9]

The Assyrian coat of mail, like the Egyptian,[10] had commonly a short sleeve, extending about halfway down to the elbow. This was either composed of scales set similarly to those of the rest of the cuirass,[1] or of two, three, or more rows placed at right angles to the others. The greater part of the arm was left without any protection.



Sleeve of a coat of mail—scale-armour of the first period (Nimrud).

A remarkable variety existed in the form and construction of the Assyrian shields. The most imposing kind is that which has been termed the *gerrhon*, from its apparent resemblance to the Persian shield mentioned under that name by Herodotus.[2]

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[7] See above, p. 32.

[8] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 336, and note.

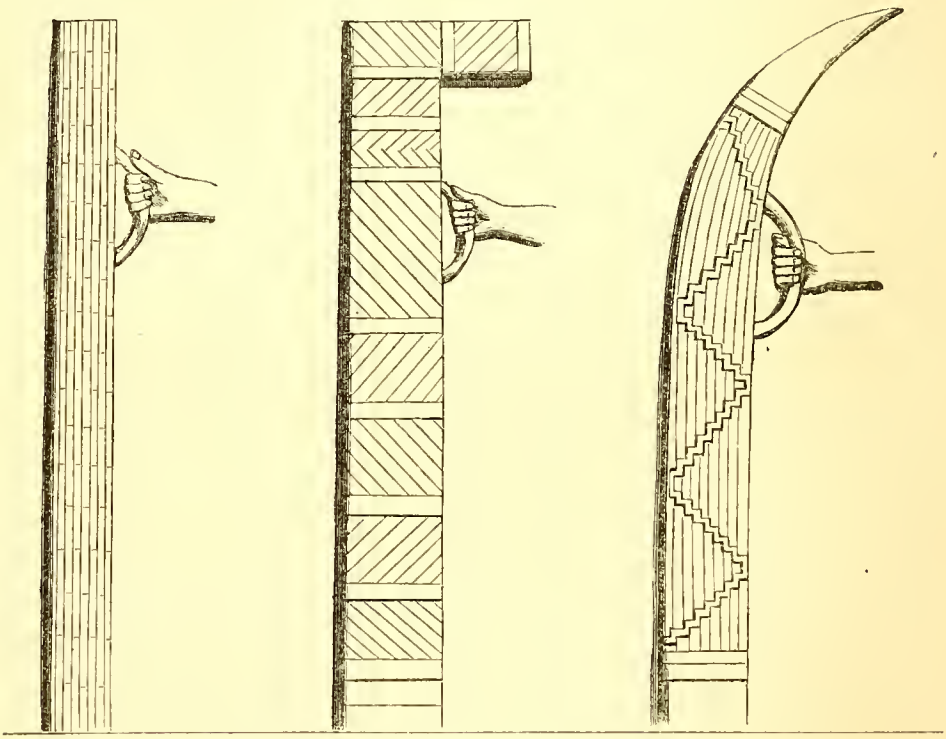
[9] Ibid. vol. i. p. 340; and vol. ii. p. 335.

[10] Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 1st Series, vol. i. p. 331. In the Egyptian corselet the plates of the sleeves were not set at right angles to those of the body.

[1] As in the representation given on page 32.

[2] Herod. vii. 61; ix. 61 and 99. Compare Xen. *Inst. Cyr.* i. 2, § 9, &c.

This was a structure in wickerwork, which equalled or exceeded the warrior in height, and which was broad enough to give shelter to two or even three men. In shape it was either an oblong square, or such a square with a projection at top, which stood out at right angles to the body of the shield; or, lastly, and most usually, it curved inwards from a certain height, gradually narrowing at the same time and finally ending in a point. Of course a



Assyrian *gerrha*, or large wicker shields.

shield of this vast size, even although formed of a light material, was too heavy to be very readily carried upon the arm. The plan adopted was to rest it upon the ground, on which it was generally held steady by a warrior armed with sword or spear, while his comrade, whose weapon was the bow, discharged his arrows from behind its shelter. Its proper place

was in sieges, where the roof-like structure at the top was especially useful in warding off the stones and other missiles which the besieged threw down upon their assailants. We sometimes see it employed by single soldiers, who lean the point against the wall[3] of the place, and, ensconcing themselves beneath the penthouse thus improvised, proceed to carry on the most critical operations of the siege in almost complete security.

Soldier undermining a wall, sheltered by *gerrhon*.

Modifications of this shield, reducing it to a smaller and more portable size, were common in the earlier times, when among the shields most usually borne we find one of wicker-work, oblong square in shape, and either perfectly flat, or else curving slightly inwards both at top and at bottom.[4] This shield was commonly about half the height of a man, or a little more; it was often used as a protection for two,[5] but must have been scanty for that purpose.

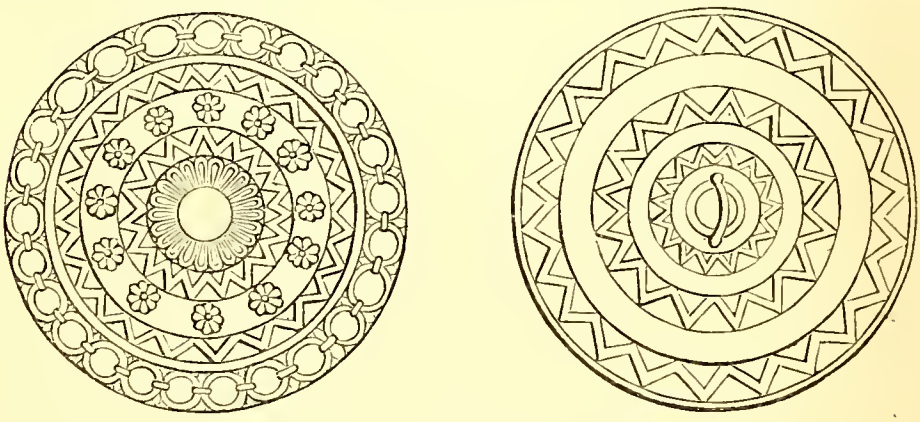
Round shields were commoner in Assyria than any others. They were used by most of those who fought in chariots, by the early monarchs' personal attendants, by the cross-belted spearmen, and by many of the spearmen who guarded archers. In the most ancient times they seem to have been universally made of solid metal, and consequently they were small,

[3] The Egyptians supported their large shields with a crutch sometimes. (Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. pp. 80, 81.) We have no evidence that the Assyrians did the same.

[4] See the Woodcuts on pp. 29, 30, and 32.

[5] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 17, 19, 20.

perhaps not often exceeding two feet, or two feet and a half, in diameter.[6] They were managed by means of a very simple handle, placed in the middle of the shield at the back and fastened to it by studs or nails, which was not passed over the arm but grasped by the hand.[7] The rim was bent inwards, so as to form a deep groove all round the edge. The material of which these shields were composed was in some cases certainly bronze;[8] in others it may have been iron; in a few silver, or even gold.[9] Some metal shields were perfectly plain; others exhibited a number of concentric rings;[10] others again were inlaid or embossed with tasteful and elaborate patterns.



Round shields or targes, patterned (Khorsabad).

Among the later Assyrians the round metal shield seems to have been almost entirely disused, its place

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[6] The bronze shields found by Mr. Layard at Nimrud, one of which is represented in his *Nineveh and Babylon* (p. 193), had a diameter of 2½ feet. If we may trust the sculptures, a smaller size was more common.

[7] See Woodcut, p. 41. The Greeks passed their arm through the bar at the centre of the shield, and grasped a leathern thong near the rim with their hand. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 306.)

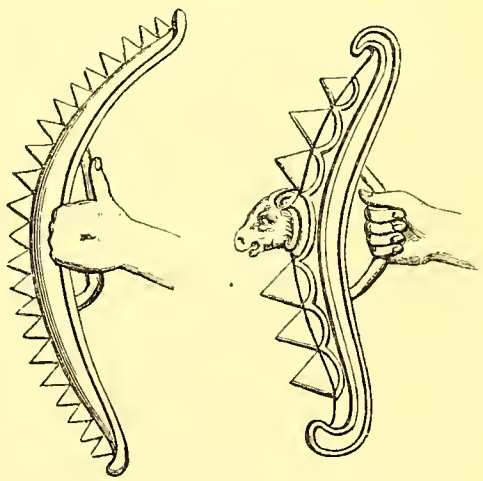
[8] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 194.

[9] Shields of gold were taken from the servants of Hadadezer, king of Zobah (2 Sam. viii. 7), by David. Solomon made 800 such shields (1 K. x. 17). Crœsus dedicated a golden shield at the temple of Amphiaraüs (Herod. i. 52).

[10] Supra, p. 8.

being supplied by a wicker buckler of the same shape, with a rim round the edge made of solid wood or of metal, and sometimes with a boss in the centre.[11] The weight of the metal shields must have been considerable, and this both limited their size and made it difficult to move them with rapidity. With the change of material we perceive a decided increase of magnitude; the diameter of the wicker buckler being often fully half the warrior's height, or not much short of three feet.

Convex shields, generally of an oblong form, were also in common use during the later period, and one kind is found in the very earliest sculptures. This is of small dimensions and of a clumsy make.[12] Its curve is slight, and it is generally ornamented with a perpendicular row of spikes or teeth, in the centre of which we often see the head of a lion.



Convex shields with teeth (Nimrud).

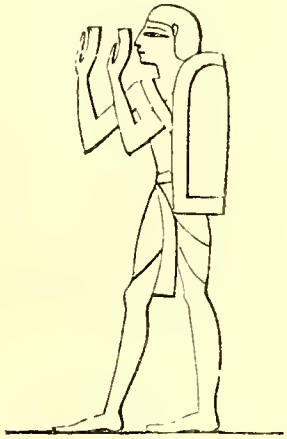
The convex shields of later date were very much larger than these. They were sometimes square at bottom and rounded at top, in which case they were either made of wickerwork, or (apparently) of metal.[13] These latter had generally a boss in the centre, and both this and the edge of the shield were often ornamented with a row of rosettes or rings. Shields of this shape were from four to five feet in height, and

[11] For representations of round wicker bucklers, see pp. 35 and 41.

[12] A representation of this shield in its simplest form is given on p. 29.

[13] See above, pp. 41 and 42.

protected the warrior from the head to the knee. On a march they were often worn upon the back,

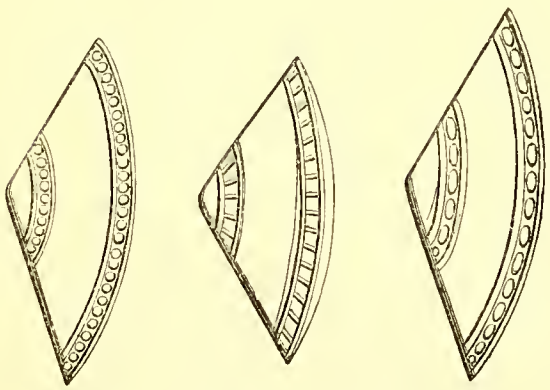


Egyptian convex shield, worn on back.

Assyrian ditto (Koyunjik.)

like the convex shield of the Egyptians, which they greatly resembled.

The more ordinary convex shield was of an oval form, like the convex shield of the Greeks,[1] but larger and with a more prominent centre. In its greater diameter it must often have exceeded five feet, though no doubt sometimes it was smaller. It was generally ornamented with narrow bands round the edge and round the boss at the centre; the space between the bands

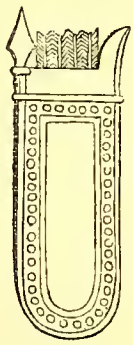


Assyrian convex shield, resembling the Greek (Koyunjik).

[1] For a representation of the Greek shield, see Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, ad voc. CLIPEUS.

being frequently patterned, with rings or otherwise. Like the other form of convex shield, it could be slung at the back,[2] and was so carried on marches, on crossing rivers,[3] and other similar occasions.

The offensive arms certainly used by the Assyrians were the bow, the spear, the sword, the mace, the sling, the axe or hatchet, and the dagger. They may also have occasionally made use of the javelin, which is sometimes seen among the arrows of a quiver. But the actual employment of this weapon in war has not yet been found upon the bas-reliefs. If faithfully represented it must have been very short, scarcely, if at all, exceeding three feet.[4]



Quiver with arrows and javelin (Nimrud).

Assyrian bows were of two kinds, curved and angular. Compared with the Egyptian,[5] and with the bows used by the archers of the middle ages, they were short, the greatest length of the strung bow being about four feet. They seem to have been made of a single piece of wood, which in the angular bow was nearly of the same thickness throughout, but in the curved one tapered gradually towards the two extremities. At either end was a small knob or button, in the later times often carved into the representation of a duck's head. Close above this was a notch or groove,

Ornamented end of bow (Khorsabad).

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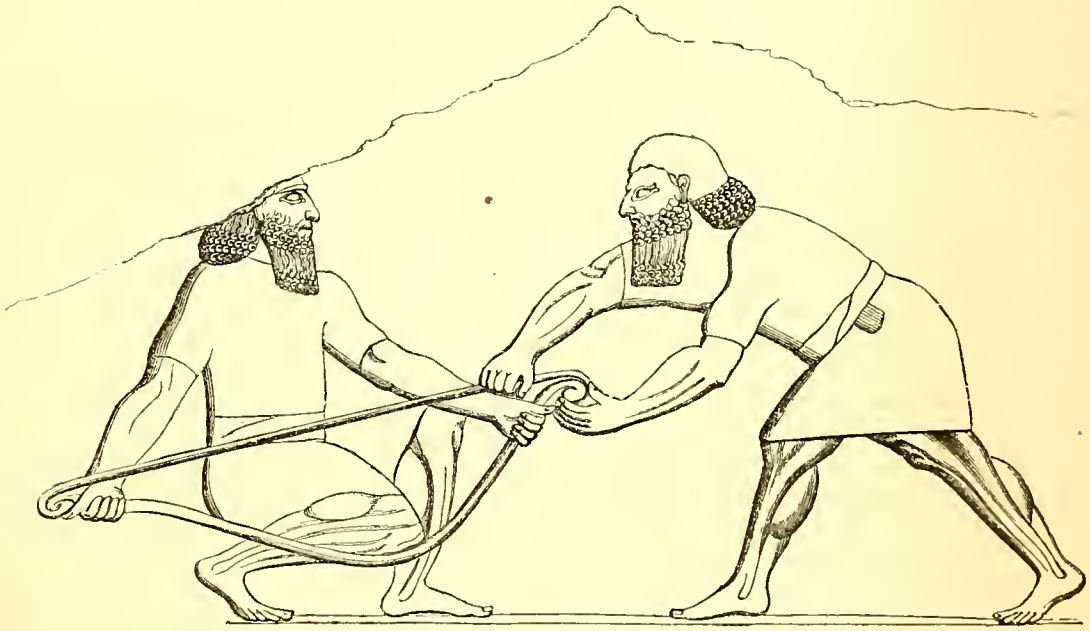
[2] See the Woodcut on p. 40.

[3] Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd Series, Pl. 41. Compare infra, p. 71.

[4] The Roman *pilum*, which is commonly called a javelin, exceeded six feet. The Greek γρόσφος, or dart, was nearly four feet.

[5] See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 1st Series, vol. i. pp. 304. 305.

whereby the string was held in place. The mode of stringing was one still frequently practised in the East. The bowman stooped, and, placing his right knee against the middle of the bow on its inner side, pressed it downwards, at the same time drawing the two ends of the bow upwards with his two hands. A comrade stood by, and, when the ends were brought sufficiently near, slipped the string



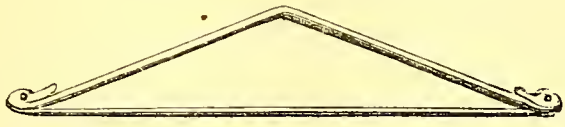
Stringing the bow (Koyunjik).

over the knob into the groove, where it necessarily remained. The bend of the bow, thus strung, was

Assyrian curved bow.

slight. When full drawn, however, it took the shape of a half-moon, which shows that it must have possessed great elasticity. The bow was known to be full drawn when the head of the arrow touched the archer's left hand.

The Assyrian angular bow was of smaller size than the curved one. It was not often carried unless as a



Assyrian angular bow.

reserve by those who also possessed the larger and better weapon.

Bows were but seldom unstrung. When not in use, they were carried strung, the archer either holding them by the middle with his left hand, or putting his arm through them, and letting them rest upon his shoulder,[6] or finally carrying them at his back in a bow-case. The bow-case was a portion of the quiver, as frequently with the Greeks,[7] and held only the lower half of the bow, the upper portion projecting from it.

Mode of carrying the bow in a bow-case (Koyunjik).

Quivers were carried by foot and horse archers at their backs, in a diagonal position, so that the arrows could readily be drawn from them over the right shoulder. They were commonly slung in this position by a strap of their own, attached to two rings, one near the top and the other near the bottom of the quiver, which the archer slipped over his left arm and his head. Sometimes, however, this strap seems to

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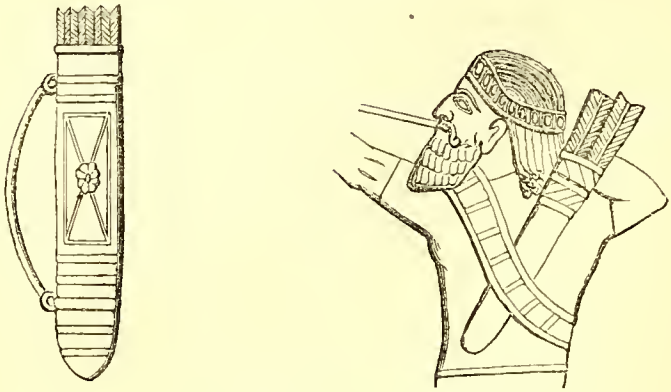
[6] Mr. Layard says that the warrior carried the bow upon his shoulders, "having first passed his head through it." (*Nin. and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 342.) This may have been the case sometimes, but generally both ends of the bow are seen on the same side of the head.

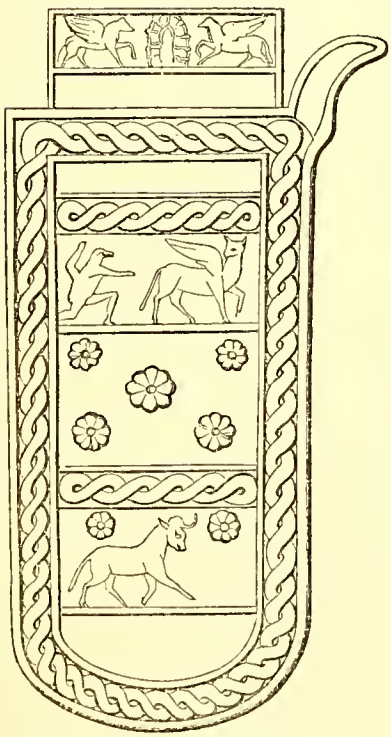
[7] See *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 126, 2nd edition.

have been wanting, and the quiver was either thrust through one of the cross-belts, or attached by a strap



Peculiar mode of carrying the quiver (Koyunjik).

which passed horizontally round the body a little above the girdle.[8] The archers who rode in chariots carried their quivers at the chariot's side, in the manner which has been already described and illustrated.[9]



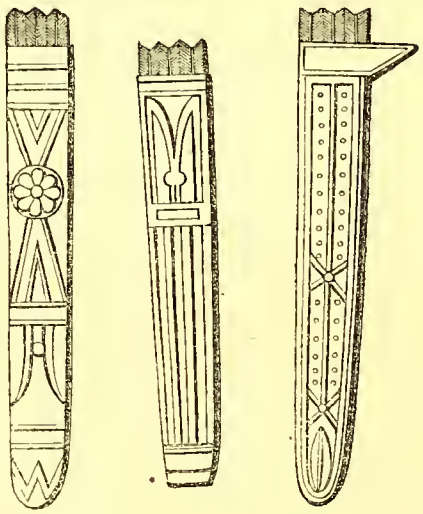
Quiver, with rich ornamentation (Nimrud).

The ornamentation of quivers was generally elaborate. Rosettes and bands constituted their most usual adornment, but sometimes these gave place to designs of a more artistic character, as wild bulls, griffins, and other mythic figures. Several examples of a rich type have been already given in the representations of chariots,[10] but none exhibit this peculiarity. One further specimen of a chariot quiver is therefore

[8] See the Woodcut, p. 39. [9] Supra, pp. 9 and 11.
[10] Supra, pp. 9, 10, and 13.

appended, which is among the most tasteful hitherto discovered.

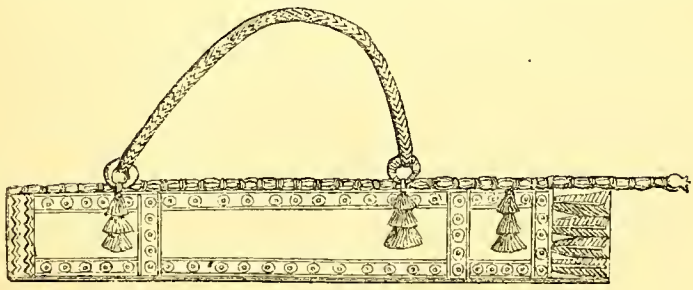
The quivers of the foot and horse archers were less richly adorned than those of the bowmen who rode in chariots, but still they were in almost every case more or less patterned. The rosette and the band here too constituted the chief resource of the artist, who, however, often introduced with good effect other well-known ornaments, as the guilloche, the boss and cross, the zigzag, &c.



Quivers of the ordinary character.

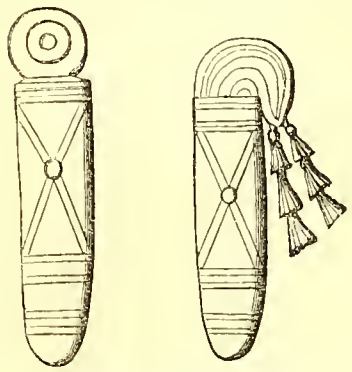
Sometimes the quiver had an ornamented rod attached to it, which projected beyond the arrows and terminated in a pomegranate blossom or other similar carving. To this rod were attached the rings which received the quiver strap, a triple tassel hanging from them at the point of attachment. The strap was probably of leather, and appears to have been twisted or plaited.

It is uncertain whether the material of the quivers was wood or metal. As, however, no remains of quivers have been discovered in any of the ruins, while helmets, shields, daggers, spearheads, and arrowheads have been found in tolerable abundance,



Quiver with projecting rod (Khorsabad).

we may perhaps assume that they were of the more fragile substance, which would account for their destruction. In this case their ornamentation may have been either by carving or painting,[1] the bosses and rosettes being perhaps in some cases of metal, mother-of-pearl, or ivory. Ornaments of this kind were discovered by hundreds at Nimrud in a chamber which contained arms of many descriptions.[2] Quivers have in some cases a curious rounded head, which seems to have been a lid or cap used for covering the arrows.[3] They have also, occasionally, instead of this, a kind of bag[4] at their top, which falls backwards and is ornamented with tassels. Both these constructions, however, are exceptional, a very large majority of the quivers being open and having the feathered ends of the arrows projecting from them.



Assyrian carved quivers (Koyunjik).

There is nothing remarkable in the Assyrian arrows except their perfect finish and completeness in all that constitutes the excellence of such a weapon. The shaft was thin and straight, and was probably of reed, or of some light and tough wood.[5]

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[1] In the Khorsabad sculptures the quivers not unfrequently showed traces of paint. The colour was sometimes red, sometimes blue. (See vol. i. pp. 451, 452.)

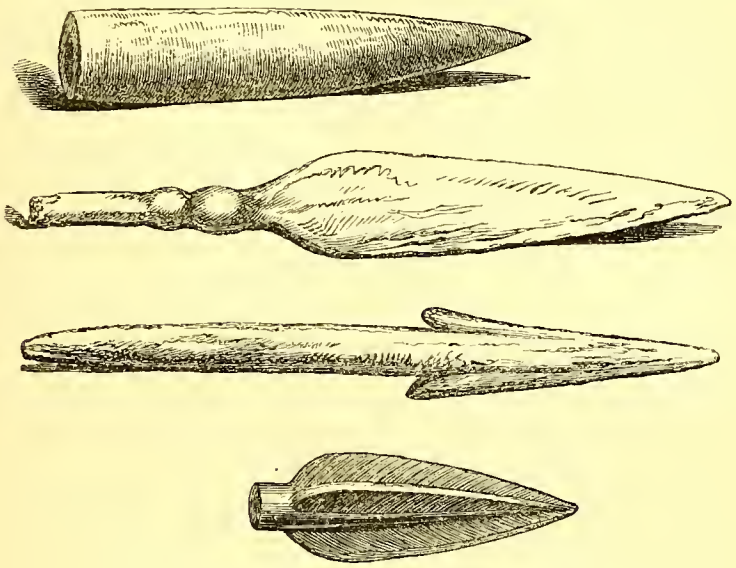
[2] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 177.

[3] The lid was probably attached to the back of the quiver by a hinge, and was made so that it could stand open. The Assyrian artists generally represent it in this position. The quiver, of which it was the top, must also have been round.

[4] Possibly this bag may be the upper part of a bow-case attached to the quiver, which, being made of a flexible material, fell back when the bow was removed. Such a construction was common in Egypt. (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 1st Series, vol. i. pp. 345-347.)

[5] Mr. Layard's conjecture that the numerous iron rods which he discovered at Nimrud were "shafts of arrows" (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 194), does not seem to me very happy. The burnishing of arrows

The head was of metal,[6] either of bronze or iron, and was generally diamond-shaped, like a miniature spear-head. It was flattish, and for greater strength had commonly a strongly raised line down the centre. The



Bronze arrow-heads (Nimrud and Koyunjik).

lower end was hollowed, and the shaft was inserted into it. The notching and feathering of the shaft were carefully attended to. It is doubtful whether three feathers were used, as by ourselves and by the Egyptians,[7] or two only, as by many nations. The fact that we never see more than two feathers upon the monuments cannot be considered decisive, since the Assyrian artists, from their small knowledge of perspective, would have been unable to represent all three feathers. So far as we can judge from the re-

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mentioned in Scripture almost certainly alludes to the points. There is no evidence that such clumsy and inconvenient things as metal shafts were ever used by any nation.

[6] A few stone arrow-heads have been found in the Assyrian ruins. They are pear-shaped and of fine flint, chipped into form. The metal arrow-heads are in a few instances barbed.

[7] Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 309.

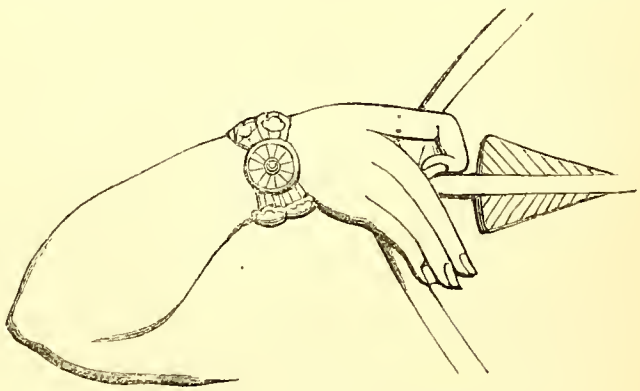
Flint arrow-head (Nimrud).

presentations, it would seem that the feathers were glued to the wood exactly as they are with ourselves.

Assyrian arrow.

The notch was somewhat large, projecting beyond the line of the shaft—a construction rendered necessary by the thickness of the bowstring, which was seldom less than that of the arrow itself.

The mode of drawing the bow was peculiar. It was drawn neither to the ear, nor to the breast, but to the shoulder. In the older sculptures the hand that draws it is represented in a curiously cramped and unnatural position,[8] which can scarcely be supposed to be true to nature. But in the later bas-reliefs greater accuracy seems to have been attained, and there we probably see the exact mode in which the shooting was actually managed. The arrow was taken below the feathers by the thumb and fore-finger of the right hand, the fore-finger bent down upon

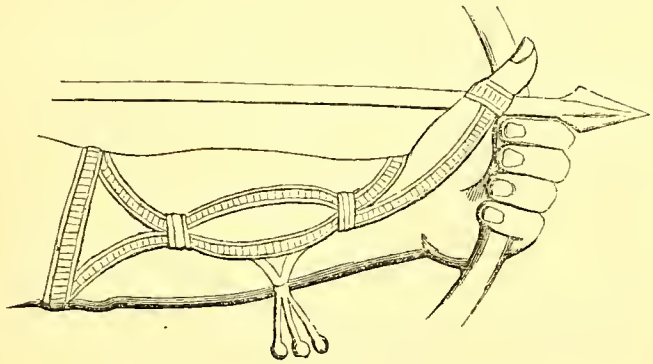


Mode of drawing the bow (Koyunjik).

it in the way represented in the accompanying woodcut, and the notch being then placed upon the string, the arrow was drawn backwards by the thumb and

[8] Supra, p. 30.

fore-finger only, the remaining three fingers taking no part in the operation. The bow was grasped by the left hand between the fingers and the muscle of the thumb, the thumb itself being raised, and the arrow made to pass between it and the bow, by which means it was kept in place and prevented from slipping. The arrow was then drawn till the cold metal head touched the fore-finger of the left hand, upon which the right hand quitted its hold, and the shaft sped on its way. To save the left arm from being bruised or cut by the bowstring, a guard, often simply yet effectively ornamented, was placed upon it, at one end passing round the thumb and at the other round the arm a little above the elbow.



Guard worn by an archer (Koyunjik).

The Assyrians had two kinds of spears, one a comparatively short weapon, varying from five to six feet in length, with which they armed a portion of their foot soldiers, the other a weapon nine or ten feet long, which was carried by most of their cavalry.[1]

Bronze spear-head from Nimrud.

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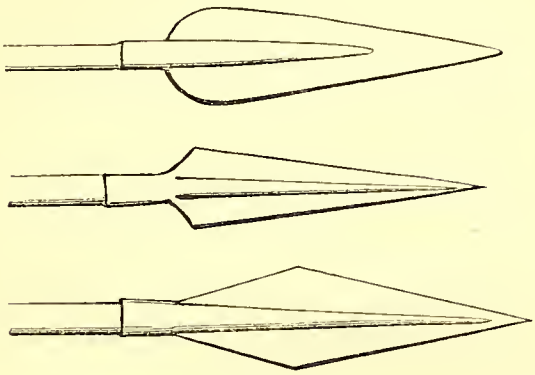
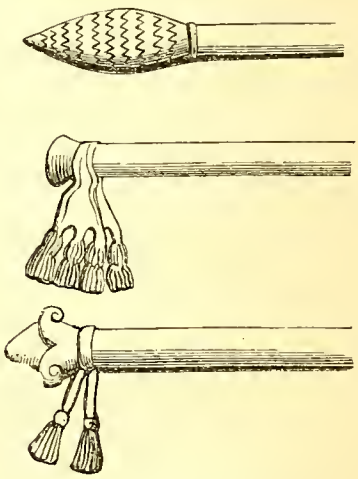
[1] See above, pp. 25 and 26.

The shaft seems in both cases to have been of wood, and the head was certainly of metal, either bronze or iron.[2] It was most usually diamond-shaped, but sometimes the side angles were rounded off, and the contour became that of an elongated pear. In other instances, the jambs of the spear-head were exceedingly short, and the point long and tapering. The upper end of the shaft was sometimes weighted,[3] and it was often carved into some ornamental form, as a



Spear-heads, from the Sculptures.



Ornamented ends of spear-shafts (Nimrud).

fir-cone or a pomegranate blossom, while in the earlier times it was further occasionally adorned with streamers. The spear of the Assyrians seems never to have been thrown, like that of the Greeks, but was only used to thrust with, as a pike.

The common sword of the Assyrians was a short straight weapon, like the sword of the Egyptians, or the *acinaces* of the Persians.[4] It was worn at the left side, generally slung by a belt of its own which was passed over the right shoulder, but sometimes thrust

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[2] Both bronze and iron spear-heads were found at Nimrud. (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, p. 194.)

[3] See the illustration on p. 35.

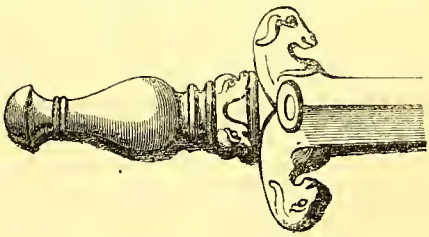
[4] Representations of the Persian *acinaces* will be given in a future volume. For the present the reader may consult the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. pp. 52, 53.

through the girdle or (apparently) through the armour.[5] It had a short rounded handle, more or less ornamented, but without any cross-bar or guard,[6] and a short blade which tapered gradually from the handle to the point. The swordsman commonly thrust with his weapon, but he could cut with it likewise, for it was with this arm that the Assyrian warrior was wont to decapitate his fallen enemy. The sheath of the sword was almost always tastefully designed, and sometimes possessed artistic excellence of a high order.

Ornamented handle of short sword (Khorsabad).

Sheathed sword (Koyunjik).

The favourite terminal ornament consisted of two lions clasping one another, with their heads averted and their mouths agape. Above this, patterns in excellent taste usually adorned the scabbard, which moreover exhibited occasionally groups of figures, sacred trees, and other mythological objects.



Ornamented handle of longer sword (Nimrud).

Instead of the short sword, the earlier warriors had a weapon of a considerable length. This was

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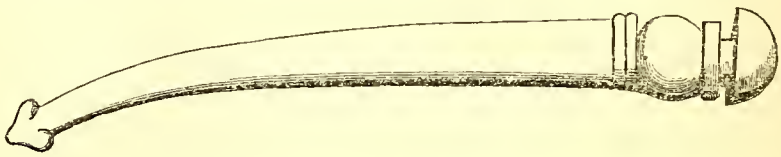
[5] Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, vol. ii. Pl. 99.

[6] Mr. Layard says (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 298) that the swords had often a cross-bar made of two lions' heads, with part of the neck and shoulders. But a careful examination of the monuments, or even of Mr. Layard's own drawings, will (I think) convince any one that the ornament in question is part of the sheath. It is never seen on a drawn sword.

invariably slung at the side by a cross-belt passing over the shoulder. In its ornamentation it closely resembled the later short sword, but its hilt was longer and more tasteful.

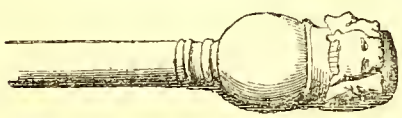
One or two instances occur where the sword of an Assyrian warrior is represented as curved slightly.



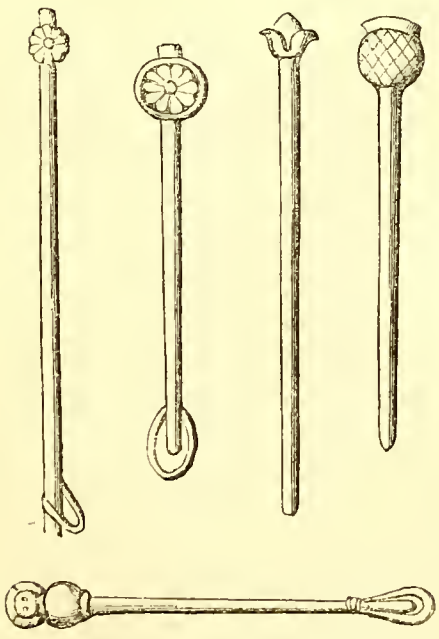
Assyrian curved sword (Khorsabad).

The sheath in these cases is plain, and terminates in a button.

The Assyrian mace was a short thin weapon, and must either have been made of a very tough wood, or —and this is more probable —of metal. It had an ornamented head, which was sometimes very beautifully modelled, and generally a strap or string at the lower end, by which it could be grasped with greater firmness. Foot archers frequently carried it in battle, especially those who were in close attendance upon the king's person. It seems, however, not to have been often used as a warlike weapon until the time of the latest sculp-



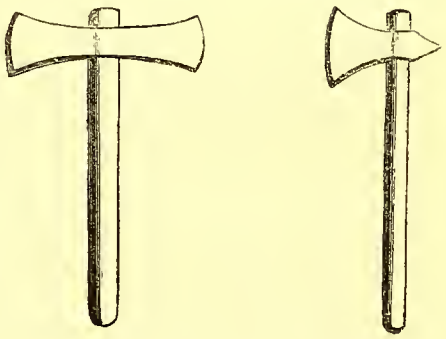
Head of royal mace (Khorsabad).



Maces, from the Sculptures.

tures, when we see it wielded, generally with both hands, by a certain number of the combatants.[7] In peace it was very commonly borne by the royal attendants; and it seems also to have been among the weapons used by the monarch himself, for whom it is constantly carried by one of those who wait most closely upon his person.

The battle-axe was a weapon but rarely employed by the Assyrians. It is only in the very latest sculptures and in a very few instances that we find axes represented as used by the warriors for any other purpose besides the felling of trees. Where they are seen in use against the enemy, the handle is short, the head somewhat large, and the weapon wielded with one hand. Battle-axes had heads of two kinds. Some were made with two blades, like the *bipennis* of the Romans, and the *labra* of the Lydians and Carians;[8] others more nearly resembled the weapons used by our own knights in the middle ages, having a single blade, and a mere ornamental point on the other side of the haft.



Assyrian battle-axes (Koyunjik).

The dagger was worn by the Assyrian kings at almost all times in their girdles, and was further often

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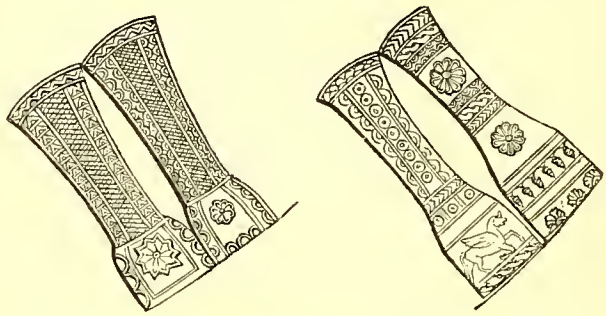
[7] See Layard's *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 46.

[8] See Fellows' *Lycia*, p. 75, and Pl. 35, Figs. 4 and 5. A two-headed axe is likewise represented in some very early sculptures, supposed to be Scythic, found by M. Texier in Cappadocia.

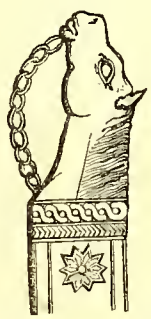
Scythian battle-axe.

assigned to the mythic winged beings, hawk-headed or human-headed, which occur so frequently in the sculptures; but it seems to have been very seldom carried by subjects.[9] It had commonly a straight



Ornamented handles of daggers (Nimrud).

handle, slightly concave, and very richly chased, exhibiting the usual Assyrian patterns, rosettes, chevrons, guilloches, pine-cones, and the like. Sometimes, however, it was still more artistically shaped, being cast into the form of a horse's head and neck. In this case there was occasionally a chain attached at one end to the horse's chin, and at the other to the bottom of his neck, which, passing outside the hand, would give it a firmer hold on the weapon. The sheaths of daggers seem generally to have been



Handle of dagger, with chain (Nimrud).

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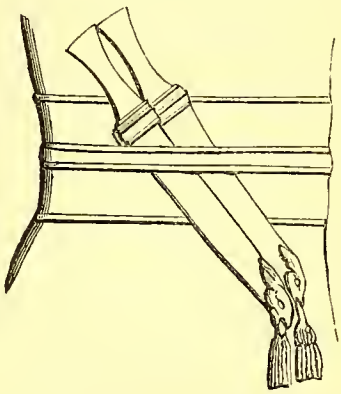
[9] I distinguish between the dagger and the short sword. The place of the former is on the right side; and it is worn invariably in the girdle. The place of the latter is by the left hip, and it hangs almost always from a cross-belt. When Mr. Layard says that "the dagger appears to have been *carried by all*, both in time of peace and war" (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 342), he must be understood as not making this distinction.

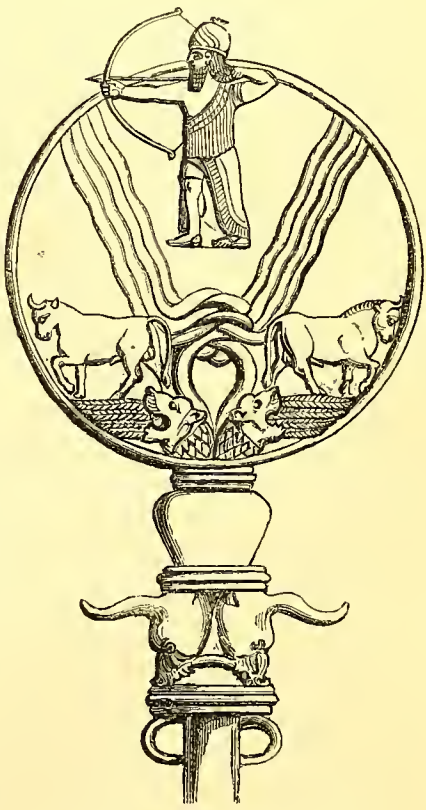
The only place, so far as I know, where a subject carries a dagger, is on the slab represented by Mr. Layard in his 1st Series of *Monuments*, Pl. 23, where it is borne by one of the royal attendants. In Pl. 31, the hunter who bears two daggers in his girdle is undoubtedly the monarch himself.

plain, or nearly so, but occasionally they terminated in the head of an animal, from whose mouth depended a tassel.

Though the Assyrian troops were not marshalled by the aid of standards, like the Roman and the Egyptian, yet still a kind of standard is occasionally to be recognised in the bas-reliefs. This consists of a pole of no great height, fixed upright at the front of a chariot, between the charioteer and the warrior, and carrying at the top a circular frame, within which are artistic representations of gods or sacred animals. Two bulls, back to back, either trotting or running at speed, are a favourite device. Above them sometimes stands a figure in a horned cap, shooting his arrows against the enemy. Occasionally only one bull is represented, and the archer shoots standing upon the bull's back.[10] Below the circular framework are minor



Sheaths of daggers (Nimrud).



Assyrian standard (Khorsabad).

[10] See Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 14. Compare *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 347.

ornaments, as lions' and bulls' heads, or streamers adorned with tassels.[11]

We do not obtain much information from the monuments with respect to the military organisation or the tactics of the Assyrians. It is clear, however, that they had advanced beyond the first period in military matters, when men fight in a confused mass of mingled horse, foot, and chariots, heavy-armed and light-armed, spearmen, archers, and slingers, each standing and moving as mere chance may determine. It is even certain that they had advanced beyond the second period, when the phalanx order of battle is adopted, the confused mass being replaced by a single serried body presenting its best armed troops to the enemy and keeping in the rear, to add their weight to the charge, the weaker and more imperfectly protected. It was not really left for Cyaxares the Mede to "be the first to organise an Asiatic army—to divide the troops into companies and form distinct bodies of the spearmen, the archers, and the cavalry."[1] The Assyrian troops were organised in this way, at least from the time of Sennacherib, on whose sculptures we find, in the first place, bodies of cavalry on the march unaccompanied by infantry;[2] secondly, engagements where cavalry only are acting against the enemy;[3] thirdly, long lines of spearmen on foot marching in double file, and sometimes divided into companies;[4]

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[11] *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 14 and 27.

[1] Herod. i. 103: Πρῶτος ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἑκάστους εἶναι, τούς τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμὶξ ἦν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυρμένα.

[2] Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st Series, Pls. 80 and 81.

[3] Ibid. 2nd Series, Pls. 37 and 38.

[4] Ibid. 1st Series, Pl. 69.

and fourthly, archers drawn up together, but similarly divided into companies, each distinguished by its own uniform.[5] We also meet with a corps of pioneers, wearing a uniform and armed only with a hatchet,[6] and with bodies of slingers, who are all armed and clothed alike.[7] If, in the battles and the sieges of this time, the troops seem to be to a great extent confused together, we may account for it, partly by the inability of the Assyrian artists to represent bodies of troops in perspective,[8] partly by their not aiming at an actual, but rather at a typical representation of events,[9] and partly also by their fondness for representing, not the preparation for battle or its first shock, but the rout and flight of the enemy and their own hasty pursuit of them.

The wars of the Assyrians, like those of ancient Rome, consisted of annual inroads into the territories of their neighbours, repeated year after year, till the enemy was exhausted, sued for peace, and admitted the suzerainty of the more powerful nation. The king in person usually led forth his army, in spring or early summer, when the mountain passes were opened, and, crossing his own borders, invaded some one or other of the adjacent countries. The monarch

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[5] Ibid. 2nd Series, Pl. 20.

[6] Ibid. 1st Series, Pl. 76.

[7] Ibid. 2nd Series, Pls. 20 and 21.

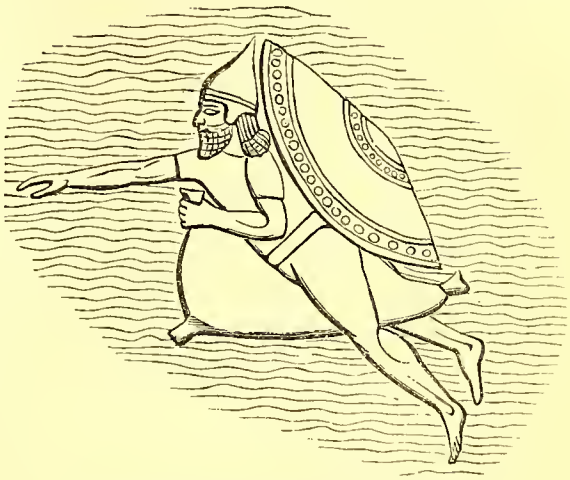
[8] The Assyrians in their battle-scenes never represent a long row of men in perspective. Their powers in this respect are limited to two men, or at the utmost three. Where a longer row is attempted, each is nearly on the head of the other, and all are represented as of the same size.

[9] *E.g.* the Assyrian representation of a siege is a sort of history of the siege. The various parts of the attack and defence, together with the surrender and the carrying away of the captives, are all represented in one scene. It is not improbable that each of the different corps who took part in the various attacks is represented by a few men. Hence an apparent confusion.

himself invariably rode forth in his chariot, arrayed in his regal robes, and with the tiara upon his head; he was accompanied by numerous attendants, and generally preceded and followed by the spearmen of the Royal Guard, and a detachment of horse-archers. Conspicuous among the attendants were the charioteer who managed the reins, and the parasol-bearer, commonly a eunuch, who, standing in the chariot behind the monarch, held the emblem of sovereignty over his head. A bow-bearer, a quiver-bearer, and a mace-bearer were usually also in attendance, walking before or behind the chariot of the king, who, however, did not often depend for arms wholly upon them, but carried a bow in his left hand, and one or more arrows in his right, while he had a further store of the latter either in or outside his chariot. Two or three led horses were always at hand, to furnish a means of escape in any difficulty. The army, marshalled in its several corps, in part preceded the royal *cortége*, in part followed at a little distance behind it.[10] On entering the enemy's country, if a wooded tract presented itself, the corps of pioneers was thrown out in advance, and cleared away the obstructions. When a river was reached too deep to be forded, the horses were detached from the royal and other chariots by grooms and attendants; the chariots themselves were embarked upon boats and rowed across the stream; while the horses, attached by ropes to a post near the stern of the boat, swam after it. The horses of the cavalry were similarly drawn across by their riders. The troops, both cavalry and infantry, and the attendants, a very numerous body,

[10] Compare the Persian practice (Herod. vii. 40; Q. Curt. iii. 3).

swam the stream, generally upon inflated skins,[11] which they placed under them, holding the neck in their left hand, and sometimes increasing the inflation as they went by applying the orifice at the top of the neck to their mouths. We have no direct evidence as to the mode in which the baggage of an army, which must have been very considerable, was conveyed, either along the general line of route, or when it was necessary to cross a river. We may conjecture that in the latter case it was probably placed upon rafts supported on inflated skins, such as those which conveyed stones from distant quarries to be used in the Assyrian buildings.[1] In the former, we may perhaps assume that the conveyance was chiefly by beasts of burthen, camels and asses, as the author of the Book of Judith imagined.[2] Carts may have been used to some extent; since they were certainly employed to



Soldier swimming a river (Koyunjik).

[11] It is very seldom that we find a swimmer represented as bold enough to dispense with the support of a skin. Instances, however, do occur. (See Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 16 and 33.)

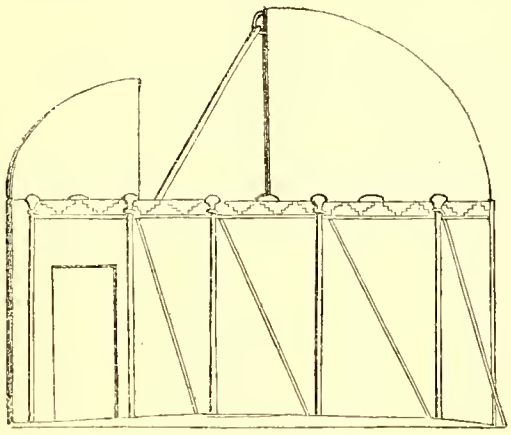
[1] See the representation, vol. i. p. 421.

[2] Judith ii. 17: "And he took *camels* and *asses* for their carriages, a very great number; and sheep, and oxen, and goats, without number for their provision."

I have given elsewhere my reasons (*Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 245, note [8], 1st Edition) for regarding the Book of Judith as a post-Alexandrine work, and therefore as no real *authority* on Assyrian history or customs. But the writer had a good acquaintance with Oriental manners in general, which are and always have been remarkably wide-spread and permanent. He may, therefore, fairly be used to fill out a sketch of Assyria.

convey back to Assyria the spoil of the conquered nations.[3]

It does not appear whether the army generally was provided with tents or not. Possibly the bulk of the soldiers may have bivouacked in the open field, unless when they were able to obtain shelter in towns or villages taken from the enemy. Tents, however, were certainly provided for the monarch and his suite. Like the tents of the Romans, these appear to have been commonly pitched within a fortified enclosure, which was of an oval shape.[4] They were disposed in rows, and were all nearly similar in construction and form, the royal tent being perhaps distinguished from the others by a certain amount of ornamentation, and by a slight superiority of size. The material used for the covering was probably felt.[5] All the tents were made open to the sky in the centre, but closed in at either extremity with a curious semicircular top. The two tops were of unequal size. Internally, either both of them, or at



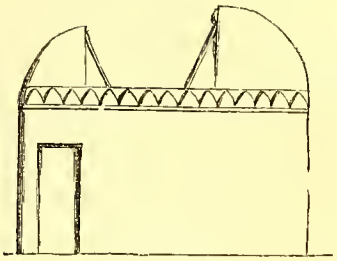
Royal tent (Koyunjik).

[3] See vol. i. pp. 292 and 304.

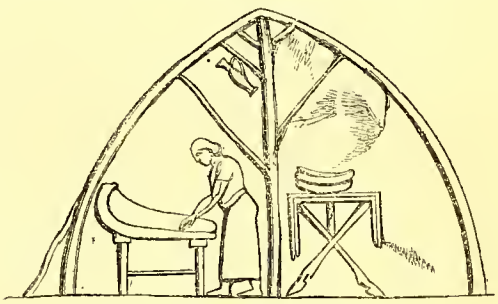
[4] Mr. Layard was at first inclined to regard these enclosures as "castles," or "walled cities" (*Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 63 and 77; 2nd Series, Pls. 24, 36, and 50). But in his latest work (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 230) he takes the view adopted in the text, that they are really "fortified camps and not cities." No one will hesitate to admit this conclusion who compares with the enclosures the actual plan of a walled city (Badaca) in Pl. 49 of Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 2nd Series.

[5] Felt was used by the Scythians for their tent-coverings (Herod. iv. 73, 75); as it is by the Calmucks at the present day. It is one of the simplest of manufactures, and would readily take the rounded form, which is so remarkable in the roofs of the Assyrian tents.

any rate the larger ones, were supported by a central pole, which threw out branches in different directions resembling the branches of a tree or the spokes of a parasol. Sometimes the walls of the tent had likewise the support of poles, which were kept in place by ropes passed obliquely from the top of each to the ground in front of them, and then firmly secured by pegs. Each tent had a door, square-headed, which was placed at the side, near the end which had the smaller covering. The furniture of tents consisted of tables, couches, foot-stools, and domestic utensils of various kinds. Within the fortified enclosure, but outside the tents, were the chariot and horses of the monarch, an altar where sacrifice could be made, and a number of animals suitable for food, as oxen, sheep, and goats.[6]



Ordinary tent (Koyunjik).



Interior of tent (Koyunjik).

It appears that occasionally the advance of the troops was along a road.[7] Ordinarily, however, they found no such convenience, but had to press forward through woods and over mountains as they best could. Whatever the obstructions, the chariot of the

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[6] These are often represented in the bas-reliefs. (See Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pls. 24 and 36. Compare the passage from Judith above quoted, p. 71, note [2].)

[7] A road seems to be intended in the bas-relief of which Mr. Layard has given a representation in his *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st Series, Pl. 81. According to the rendering of Sir H. Rawlinson, Tiglath-Pileser I. calls himself "the opener of the roads of the countries." (*Inscription*, p. 30, § ix.)

monarch was in some way or other conveyed across them, though it is difficult to suppose that he could have always remained, as he is represented, seated in it. Probably he occasionally dismounted and made use of one of the led horses, by which he was always accompanied, while sometimes he even condescended to proceed on foot.[8] The use of palan-

King walking in a mountainous country—chariot following supported by men (from an Obelisk in the British Museum).

quins or litters seems not to have been known to the Assyrians, though it was undoubtedly very ancient in Asia; but the king was sometimes carried on men's shoulders, seated on his throne, in the way that we see the enthroned gods borne in many of the sculptures.[9]

The first object in entering a country was to fight, if possible, a pitched battle with the inhabitants. The Assyrians were always confident of victory in such an encounter, being better armed, better disciplined, and perhaps of stronger frames than any of their neighbours.[10] There is no evidence to show

[8] The probabilities of the case alone would justify these conclusions, which are further supported by the Inscriptions (*Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, p. 30, § viii.; *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. xix. pp. 139, 140, &c.), and by at least one bas-relief (see the above representation).

[9] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 65. Mr. Fox Talbot supposes palanquins to be mentioned more than once in an inscription of Sennacherib (*Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. xix. pp. 152, 153, 173, &c.); but Sir H. Rawlinson does not allow this translation.

[10] See vol. i. p. 299.

how their armies were drawn up, or how the troops were handled in an engagement; but it would seem that in most cases, after a longer or a shorter resistance, the enemy broke and fled, sometimes throwing away his arms, at other times fighting as he retired, always vigorously pursued both by horse and foot, and sometimes driven headlong into a river.[11] Quarter was not very often given in a battle. The barbarous practice of rewarding those who carried back to camp the heads of foemen prevailed; and this led to the general massacre even of the wounded, the disarmed, and the unresisting, except in particular cases where it was of importance that a general or other leading personage should be taken alive.[1] Even while the engagement continued, it would seem that soldiers might quit the ranks, decapitate a fallen foe, and carry off his head to the rear, without incurring any reproof;[2] and it is certain that, so soon as the engagement was over, the whole army turned to beheading the fallen, using for this purpose the short sword, which almost every warrior carried at his left side. A few, unable to obtain heads, were forced to be content with gathering the spoils of the slain and of the fled, especially their arms, such as quivers, bows, helmets, and the like; while their more fortunate comrades, proceeding to an appointed spot in the rear,[3] exhibited the tokens of their valour, or of their good luck, to the Royal

[11] Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 46.

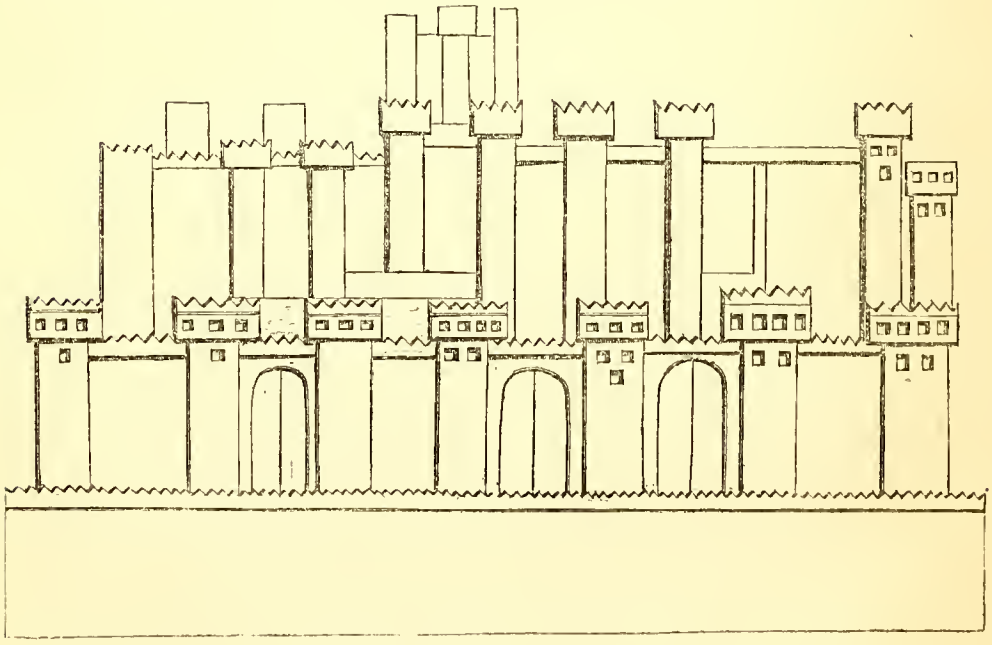
[1] A fuller and more careful examination of the sculptures forces me to modify in some degree the opinion expressed in the first volume of this work, that the Assyrians commonly gave quarter in a battle. (See vol. i. p. 303.) For one example of this kind there are many where the unresisting enemy is slain. The prisoners so often represented as carried off, seem to have been chiefly persons taken on the surrender of a town or fort.

[2] See particularly Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 70.

[3] Sometimes a tent was set apart for the purpose, and the heads were piled in one corner of it. (Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 45.)

scribes, who took an exact account of the amount of the spoil, and of the number of the enemy killed.

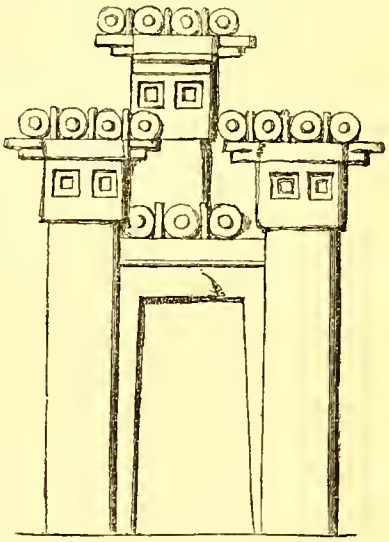
When the enemy could no longer resist in the open field, he usually fled to his strongholds. Almost all the nations with whom the Assyrians waged their wars possessed fortified cities, or castles, which seem to have been places constructed with a good deal of skill, and possessed of no inconsiderable strength. According to the representations of the sculptures, they were all nearly similar in character, the defences consisting of high battlemented walls, pierced with loopholes or windows towards their upper part, and flanked at intervals along their whole course by towers. Often they possessed two or more enceintes, which in the bas-reliefs are represented one above the other; and in these cases the outermost circuit was sometimes a mere plain continuous wall, as in the annexed woodcut. They were entered by large gateways, most commonly arched, and closed by two huge gates or doors, which completely filled up the



Fortified place, belonging to an enemy of the Assyrians (Nimrud).

aperture. Occasionally, however, the gateways were square-headed, as in the subjoined illustration, where there occurs, moreover, a very curious ornamentation of the battlements.[4]

These fortified places the Assyrians attacked in three principal ways. Sometimes they endeavoured to take them by escalade, advancing for this purpose a number of long ladders against different parts of the walls, thus distracting the enemy's attention and seeking to find a weak point. Up the ladders proceeded companies of spearmen and archers in combination, the spearmen invariably taking the lead, since their large shields afforded them a protection, which archers advancing in file up a ladder could not have. Meanwhile from below a constant discharge was kept up by bowmen and slingers, the former of whom were generally protected by the *gerrhon*, or high wicker shield, held in front of them by a comrade. The besieged endeavoured to dislodge and break the ladders, which are often represented in fragments;[5] or, failing in this attempt, sought by hurling down large stones, and by discharges from their bows and slings, to precipitate and destroy their

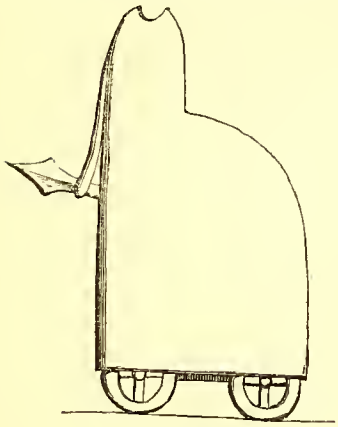


Gateway of castle (Koyunjik).

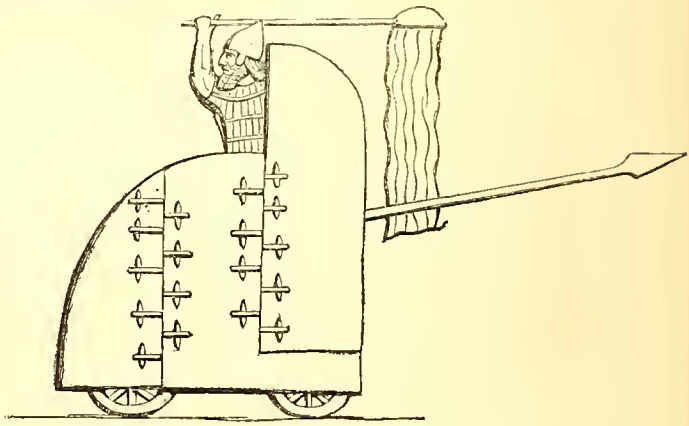
[4] Mr. Layard regards this ornamentation as produced by a suspension from the battlements of the shields of the garrison, and suggests that it illustrates the passage in Ezekiel with respect to Tyre: "The men of Arvad with thine army were upon the walls round about, and the Gammadims were in thy towers; they *hanged their shields upon thy walls round about*." (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 388.)

[5] Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 21.

assailants. If finally they were unable by these means to keep the Assyrians from reaching the topmost round of the ladders, they had recourse to their spears, and man to man, spear to spear, and shield to shield, they still struggled to defend themselves. The Assyrians always represent the sieges which they conduct as terminating successfully; but we may be tolerably sure that in many instances the invader was beaten back, and forced to relinquish his prey, or to try fresh methods of obtaining it.



No. I.



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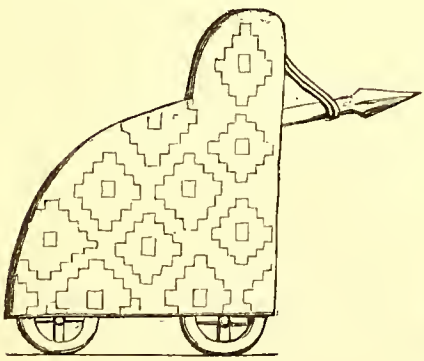

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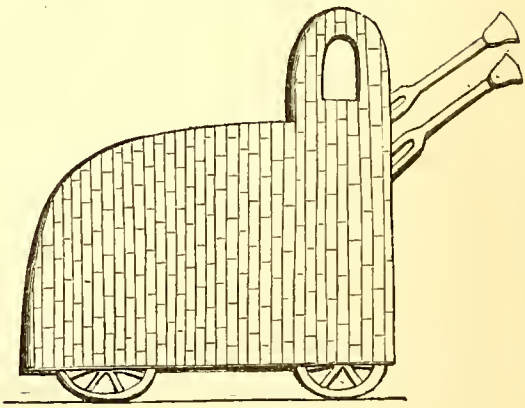

No. IV.

Battering-rams.

If the escalade failed, or if it was thought unadvisable to attempt it, the plan most commonly adopted was to try the effect of the battering-ram. The Assyrian armies were abundantly supplied with these

engines, of which we see as many as seven engaged in a single siege.[6] They were variously designed and arranged. Some had a head shaped like the point of a spear ;[7] others, one more resembling the end of a blunderbuss.[8] All of them were covered with a framework, which was of ozier, wood, felt, or skins, for the better protection of those who worked the implement; but some appear to have been stationary, having their framework resting on the ground itself,[9] while others were moveable, being provided with wheels, which in the early times were six,[10] but in the later times four only. Again, sometimes, combined with the ram and its framework was a moveable tower, containing soldiers, who at once fought the enemy on a level, and protected the engine from their attacks. Fire was the weapon usually turned against the ram, torches, burning tow, or other inflammable substances being cast from the walls upon its framework, which, wherever it was of ozier or of wood, could be easily set alight and consumed. To prevent this result, the workers of the ram were sometimes provided with a supply of water, which they could direct through leathern or metal pipes against the combustibles.[1] At other times they sought to protect themselves by suspending from a pole in front of their engine a curtain of cloth, leather, or some other non-inflammable substance.[2]

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[6] Layard, l. s. c.

[7] As Nos. I., II., and III., on the preceding page.

[8] As No. IV. on ditto.

[9] See Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 19.

[10] Ibid. Pl. 17.

[1] Ibid. Pl. 19.

[2] In the bas-relief represented by Mr. Layard in his 2nd Series of *Monuments*, Pl. 21, where an enormous number of torches are seen in the air, every battering-ram is thus protected. A man, sheltered under the framework of the ram, holds the pole which supports the curtain. (See the ram, No. II., in the Woodcut on the preceding page.) May not the προκαλύμματα of the Platæans have been curtains of this description?

Another mode of meeting the attacks of the battering-ram was by catching the point with a chain suspended by its two ends from the walls, and then, when the ram was worked, diverting the stroke, by drawing the head upwards.[3] To oppose this device, the besiegers provided some of their number with strong metal hooks, and stationed them below the ram, where they watched for the descent of the chain. As soon as ever it caught the head of the ram, they inserted their hooks into its links, and then hanging upon it with their whole weight, prevented its interference with the stroke.

Battering-rams were frequently used against the walls from the natural ground at their foot. Sometimes, however, the besiegers raised vast mounds against the ramparts, and advanced their engines up these, thus bringing them on a level with the upper and weaker portions of the defences. Of this nature probably were the mounds spoken of in Scripture as employed by the Babylonians[4] and Egyptians,[5] as well as the Assyrians,[6] in their sieges of cities. The intention was not so much to pile up the mounds till they were on a level with the top of the walls as to work the battering-ram with greater advantage from them. A similar use was made of mounds by the Peloponnesian Greeks, who nearly succeeded in taking Platæa in this way.[7] The mounds were not always composed entirely of earth; the upper portion was

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They were made of "skins and raw hides" (Thucyd. ii. 75).

[3] Instead of chains, the Greeks used nooses (*βρόχοι*), made of rope probably, for this purpose. (See Thucyd. ii. 76, where *ἀνέκλων* seems to mean "drew upwards," and compare Livy, xxxvi. 23, and Dio Cassius, 1080, 11.)

[4] Jer. vi. 6, xxxii. 24, xxxiii. 4, &c.

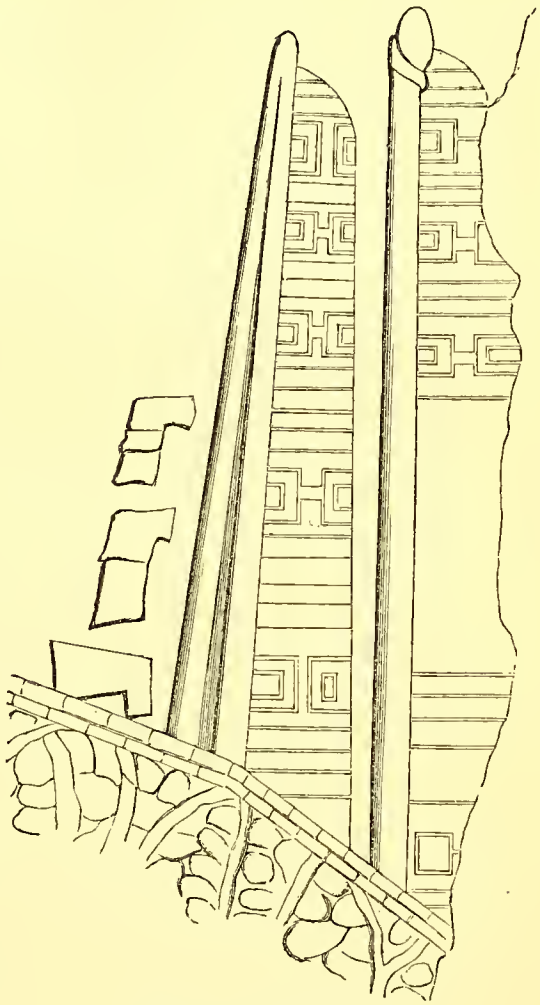
[5] Ezek. xvii. 17.

[6] 2 Kings xix. 32; Is. xxxvii. 33. The Jews themselves were acquainted with this mode of siege as early as the time of David. (2 Sam. xx. 15.)

[7] Thucyd. ii. 76.

often made of several layers of stone or brick, arranged in regular order, so as to form a sort of paved road, up which the rams might be dragged with no great difficulty. Trees, too, were sometimes cut down and built into the mound.[8]

Besides battering-rams, the Assyrians appear to have been acquainted with an engine resembling the catapult, or rather the *balista*[9] of the Romans. This engine, which was of great height, and threw stones of a large size, was protected, like the ram, by a framework, apparently of wood, covered with canvas, felt, or hides. The stones thrown from the engine were of irregular shape, and it was able to discharge several at the same time. The besiegers worked it from a mound or inclined plane, which enabled them to send their missiles to the top of



Assyrian *balistæ* (Nimrud).

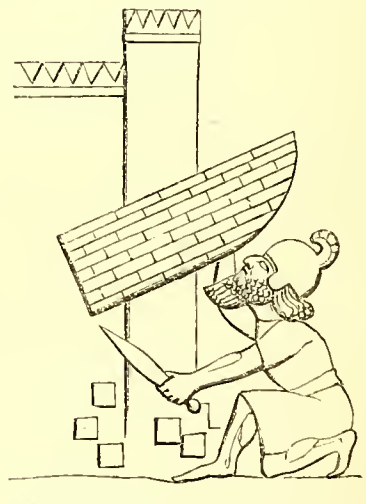
[8] See the accompanying Woodcut, and compare Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 18. So Thucydides speaks of the Peloponnesian mound as composed of earth, stones, and wood. (Ἐφόρουν δὲ ὕλην ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ λίθους καὶ γήν. Thucyd. ii. 75.)

[9] The term "catapult" was properly applied to the engine which threw darts; that which threw stones was called *balista*.

the ramparts.[10] It had to be brought very close to the walls in order to be effective—a position which gave the besieged an opportunity of assailing it by fire. Perhaps it was this liability which caused the infrequent use of the engine in question, which is rare upon the earlier, and absent from the later, sculptures.

The third mode of attack employed by the Assyrians in their sieges of fortified places was the mine. While the engines were in full play, and the troops drawn up around the place assailed the defenders of the walls with their slings and bows, warriors singly, or in twos and threes, advanced stealthily to the foot of the ramparts, and either with their swords and the points of their spears, or with implements better

Crowbar.



Mining the wall (Koyunjik).

suited for the purpose, such as crowbars and pick-axes, attacked the foundations of the walls, endeavouring to remove the stones one by one, and so to force an entrance. While thus employed the assailant commonly either held his shield above him as

[10] According to Diodorus, *balistæ* were chiefly used to break down the battlements which crowned the walls and the towers. (Diod. Sic. xvii. 42, 45; xx. 48, 88.)

a protection, or was guarded by the shield of a comrade;[11] or finally, if he carried the curved *gerrhon*, leant it against the wall, and then placed himself under its shelter.[12] Sometimes, however, he dispensed with the protection of a shield altogether, and, trusting to his helmet and coat of mail, which covered him at all vital points, pursued his labour without paying any attention to the weapons aimed at him by the enemy.[13]

Occasionally the efforts of the besiegers were directed against the gates, which they endeavoured to break open with axes, or to set on fire by an application of the torch. From this latter circumstance we may gather that the gates were ordinarily of wood, not, like those of Babylon[14] and Veii,[15] of brass. In the hot climate of Southern Asia wood becomes so dry by exposure to the sun, that the most solid doors may readily be ignited and consumed.[1]

Implement used in the destruction of cities (Khorsabad).

When at last the city or castle was by some of these means reduced, and the garrison consented to surrender itself, the work of demolition, already begun, was completed. Generally the place was set on fire; sometimes workmen provided with pickaxes and other tools mounted upon the ramparts and towers,

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[11] Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st Series, Pl. 66.

[12] See the Woodcut, supra, p. 49.

[13] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 19.

[14] Herod. i. 179; Diod. Sic. ii. 8, §7.

[15] Plutarch, *Vit. Camill.* 12.

[1] In the Affghan war one of the gates of the city of Candahar was ignited from the outside by the Affghanees, and was entirely consumed in less than an hour.

hurled down the battlements, broke breaches in the walls, or even levelled the whole building. Vengeance was further taken by the destruction of the valuable trees in the vicinity, more especially the highly prized date-palms, which were cut with hatchets half through their stems at the distance of about two feet from the ground, and then pulled or pushed down.

Soldiers destroying date-palms (Koyunjik).

Other trees were either treated similarly, or denuded of their branches.[2] Occasionally the destruction was of a less wanton and vengeful character. Timber-trees were cut down for transport to Assyria, where they were used in the construction of the royal palaces;[3] and fruit-trees were occasionally taken up by the roots, removed carefully, and planted in the gardens and orchards of the conquerors.[4] Meanwhile

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[2] See Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 40.

[3] Fox Talbot, *Assyrian Texts*, pp. 8, 17, &c.

[4] So at least Sir Henry Rawlinson understands a passage in the Tiglath-Pileser Inscription, col. vii. ll. 17-27, pp. 58-60.

there was a general plundering of the captured place. The temples were entered, and the images of the gods, together with the sacred vessels, which were often of gold and silver,[5] were seized and carried off in triumph.[6] This was not mere cupidity. It was regarded as of the utmost importance to show that the gods of the Assyrians were superior to those of other countries, who were powerless to protect either their votaries or even themselves from the irresistible might of the servants of Asshur. The ordinary practice was to convey the images of the foreign gods from the temples of the captured places to Assyria, and there to offer them at the shrines of the principal Assyrian deities.[7] Hence the special force of the proud question—"*Where are* the gods of Hamath and of Arpad? *Where are* the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah?"[8] Where are they but carried captive to Assyria, prisoners and slaves in the temples of those deities whose power they ventured to resist?

Soldier carrying off spoil from a temple (Khorsabad).

The houses of the city were also commonly plundered, and everything of value in them was carried off. Long files of men, each bearing some article of furniture out of the gate of a captured town, are frequent upon the bas-reliefs, where we likewise often observe in the train of a returning army carts laden with

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[5] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.* p. 28.

[6] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 65; 2nd Series, Pl. 30, &c.

[7] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.* p. 40; *Assyrian Texts*, p. 17.

[8] 2 Kings xviii. 34.

household stuff of every kind, alternating with long strings of captives. All the spoil seems to have been first brought by the individual plunderers to one place, where it was carefully sorted and counted in the presence and under the superintendence of royal scribes, who took an exact inventory of the whole before it was carried away by its captors. Scales were used to determine the weight of articles made of the precious metals,[9] which might otherwise have been subjected to clipping. We may conclude from these practices that a certain proportion of the value of all private spoil was either due to the royal treasury, or required to be paid to the gods in acknowledgment of their aid and protection. Besides the private spoil, there was a portion which was from the first set apart exclusively for the monarch. This consisted especially of the public treasure of the captured city, the gold and silver, whether in bullion, plate, or ornaments, from the palace of its prince, and the idols, and probably the other valuables, from the temples.

Scribes taking account of the spoil (Khorsabad).

The inhabitants of a captured place were usually treated with more or less of severity. Those regarded as most responsible for the resistance or the

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[9] See Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 377, and compare a representation on the broken black obelisk of Asshur-idanni-pal, now in the British Museum.

rebellion were seized; generally their hands were manacled either before them or behind their backs, while sometimes fetters were attached to their feet,[1] and even rings passed through their lips,[2] and in this abject guise they were brought into the presence of the Assyrian king. Seated on his throne in his fortified camp without the place, and surrounded by his attendants, he received them one by one, and instantly pronounced their doom. On some he proudly placed his foot,[3] some he pardoned, a few he ordered for execution, many he sentenced to be torn from their homes and carried into slavery.

Various modes of execution seem to have been employed in the case of condemned captives. One of them was impalement. This has always been, and still remains, a common mode of punishment in the East; but the manner of impaling which the Assyrians adopted was peculiar. They pointed a stake at one end, and, having fixed the other end firmly into the ground, placed their criminal with the pit of his stomach upon the point, and made it enter his body just below the breastbone.[4] This method of impaling must have destroyed life tolerably soon, and have thus been a far less cruel punishment than the crucifixion of the Romans. We do not observe it very often in the Assyrian sculptures, nor do we ever see it applied to more than a few in-

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[1] See Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 376.

[2] See vol. i. p. 304, where a representation of captives thus treated is given.

[3] For a representation of this practice see Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 82. The Persian monarchs treated captives in the same way, as we see by the rock-sculpture at Behistun. The practice has always prevailed in the East. See Josh. x. 24; Ps. viii. 6; cx. 1; Lament. iii. 34, &c.

[4] For a representation, see vol. i. p. 303.

dividuals.[5] It was probably reserved for those who were considered the worst criminals.[6]

Another very common mode of executing captives was by beating in their skulls with a mace. In this case the victim commonly knelt; his two hands were placed before him upon a block or cushion; behind him stood two executioners, one of whom held him by a cord round his neck, while the other, seizing his back hair in one hand, struck him a furious blow upon the head with a mace which he held in the other.[7] It must have been rarely, if ever, that a second blow was needed.

Mace-bearer, with attendant, executing a prisoner (Koyunjik).

Decapitation was less frequently practised. The expression indeed, "I cut off their heads," is common in the Inscriptions;[8] but in most instances it evidently refers to the practice, already noticed,[9] of collecting the heads of those who had fallen in battle. Still, there are instances, both in the Inscriptions,[1] and in the sculptures,[2] of what appears to have been a formal execution of captives by beheading. In these cases the criminal, it would seem, stood up-

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[5] One king, the great Asshur-idanni-pal (or Asshur-izir-pal, as the name is now read), seems to have employed impalement on a large scale. (See his long Inscription, *British Museum Series*, Pls. 17 to 26.)

[6] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 28.

[7] Another mode of executing with the mace is represented in Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 458.

[8] See the *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.* pp. 24 and 50; *Assyrian Texts*, pp. 11, 30, &c.

[9] Supra, p. 75.

[1] *Assyrian Texts*, l. s. c.

[2] See particularly the slab in the British Museum, entitled "Execution of the King of Susiana."

right, or bending a little forwards, and the executioner, taking him by a lock of hair with his left hand, struck his head from his shoulders with a short sword, which he held in his right.

Swordsman decapitating a prisoner (Koyunjik).

It is uncertain whether a punishment even more barbarous than these was not occasionally resorted to. In two or three bas-reliefs executioners are represented in the act of flaying prisoners with a knife. The bodies are extended upon the ground or against a wall, to which they are fastened by means of four pegs attached by strings or thongs to the two wrists and the two ankles. The executioner leans over the victim, and with his knife detaches the skin from the flesh.[3] One would trust that this operation was not performed until life was extinct. We know that it was the practice of the Persians,[4] and even of the barbarous Scythians,[5] to flay the corpses, and not the living forms, of criminals and of enemies; we may hope, therefore, that the Assyrians removed the skin from the dead, to use it as a

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[3] For a representation see Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 457.

[4] Herod. v. 25: Σισάμνην βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης, σφάξας ἀπέδειρε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπηΐην. And again, a little further on: τὸν ἀποκτείνας ἀπέδειρε, "flayed after he had slain."

[5] Herod. iv. 64: Πολλοὶ δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχθρῶν τὰς δεξίας χέρας νεκρῶν ἐόντων ἀποδείραντες, αὐτοῖσι ὄνυξι καλύπτρας τῶν φαρετρέων ποιεῦνται.

trophy or as a warning,[6] and did not inflict so cruel a torture on the living.

Sometimes the punishment awarded to a prisoner was mutilation instead of death. Cutting off the ears close to the head, blinding the eyes with burning-irons, cutting off the nose, and plucking out the tongue by the roots, have been in all ages favourite Oriental punishments.[7] We have distinct evidence that some at least of these cruelties were practised by the Assyrians. Asshur-idanni-pal tells us in his great Inscription that he often cut off the noses and the ears of prisoners; while a slab of Asshur-bani-pal, the son of Esarhaddon, shows a captive in the hands of the torturers, one of whom holds his head firm and fast, while another thrusts his hand into his mouth for the purpose of tearing out the tongue.[8]

The captives carried away by the conquerors consisted of men, women, and children. The men were formed into bands, under the conduct of officers, who urged them forward on their way by blows, with small regard to their sufferings. Commonly they were conveyed to the capital, where they were employed by the monarchs in the lower or higher departments of labour, according to their capacities. The skilled workmen were in request to assist in the ornamentation of shrines and palaces, while the great

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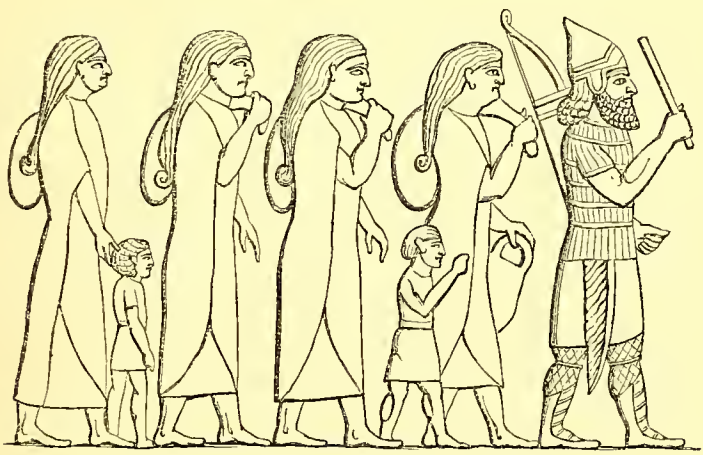
[6] The Scythians used the skins of their enemies as trophies. When Cambyses had Sisamnes flayed, it was to cover with his skin the seat of justice, on which his son had succeeded him, and so to deter the son from imitating the corruption of his father.

[7] See Herod. iii. 69, 154; vii. 18; Xen. *Anab.* i. 9, § 13; Amm. Marc. xxvii. 12; Procop. *De Bell. Pers.* i. 11; Jerem. xxxix. 7, &c.; and compare Brisson, *De Regn. Pers.* ii. pp. 334, 335.

[8] The whole slab is engraved by Mr. Layard in his *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 47. A portion of it is also given in his *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 458.

mass of the unskilled were made use of to quarry and drag stone, to raise mounds, make bricks, and the like.[9] Sometimes, instead of being thus employed in task-work in or near the capital, the captives were simply settled in new regions, where it was thought that they would maintain the Assyrian power against native malcontents.[10] Thus Esar-haddon planted Babylonians, Susanchites, Dehavites, Elamites, and others in Samaria,[11] while Sargon settled his Samaritan captives in Gauzanitis and in "the cities of the Medes."[12]

The women and children carried off by the conquerors were treated with more tenderness than the



Female captives, with children (Koyunjik).

men. Sometimes on foot, but often mounted on mules,[13] or seated in carts drawn by bullocks or asses,[14] they followed in the train of their new masters, not always perhaps unwilling to exchange the monotony of domestic life at home for the excite-

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[9] See *Tiglath-Pileser Inscription*, col. vi. l. 85; *Assyrian Texts*, pp. 2, 7, &c.

[10] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 4.

[11] Ezra iv. 2 and 9.

[12] 2 Kings xviii. 11.

[13] See vol. i. p. 292.

[14] Ibid. l. s. c. and p. 304.

ment of a new and unknown condition in a fresh country. We seldom see them exhibiting any signs of grief. The women and children are together, and the mothers lavish on their little ones the usual caresses and kind offices, taking them in their laps, giving them the breast, carrying them upon their shoulders, or else leading them by the hand. At intervals they were allowed to stop and rest; and it was not even the practice to deprive them of such portion of their household stuff as they might have contrived to secure before quitting their homes. This they commonly bore in a bag or sack which was either held in the hand or thrown over one shoulder. When they reached Assyria it would seem that they were commonly assigned as wives to the soldiers of the Assyrian army.[15]

Together with their captives the Assyrians carried off vast quantities of the domesticated animals, such as oxen, sheep, goats, horses, asses, camels, and mules. The numbers mentioned in the Inscriptions are sometimes almost incredible. Sennacherib, for instance, says that in one foray he bore off from the tribes on the Euphrates "7,200 horses and mares, 5,230 camels, 11,000 mules, 120,000 oxen, and 800,000 sheep"![1] Other kings omit particulars, but speak of the captured animals which they led away as being "too numerous to be counted," or "countless as the stars of heaven."[2] The Assyrian sculptors are limited by the nature of their art to comparatively small numbers, but they show us horses, camels, and mules, in the train of a returning

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[15] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 19 and note.

[1] See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 493, note [1].

[2] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 11; *Tiglath-Pileser Inscription*, p. 44, &c.

army,[3] together with groups of the other animals,[4] indicative of the vast flocks and herds continually mentioned in the Inscriptions.

Occasionally the monarchs were not content with bringing home domesticated animals only, but took the trouble to transport from distant regions into Assyria wild beasts of various kinds. Tiglath-Pileser I. informs us in general terms that, besides carrying off the droves of the horses, cattle, and asses that he obtained from the subjugated countries, he "took away and drove off the herds of the wild goats and the ibexes, the wild sheep and the wild cattle;"[5] and another monarch mentions that in one expedition he carried off from the middle Euphrates a drove of forty wild cattle, and also a flock of twenty ostriches.[6] The object seems to have been to stock Assyria with a variety and an abundance of animals of chace.

The foes of the Assyrians would sometimes, when hard pressed, desert the dry land, and betake themselves to the marshes, or cross the sea to islands where they trusted that they might be secure from attack. Not unfrequently they obtained their object by such a retreat, for the Assyrians were not a maritime people. Sometimes, however, they were pursued. The Assyrians would penetrate into the marshes by means of reed boats, probably not very different from the *terradas* at present in use among the Arabs of the Mesopotamian marsh districts.[7]

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[3] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 61, 74, 75; 2nd Series, Pls. 33, 34, &c.

[4] For representations of such groups, see vol. i. pp. 436, 437.

[5] *Inscription*, p. 58.

[6] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 25.

[7] For a description of these *terradas*, see Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 552, and com-

Such boats are represented upon the bas-reliefs as capable of holding from three to five armed men.[8] On these the Assyrian foot-soldiers would embark, taking with them a single boatman to each boat, who propelled the vessel much as a Venetian gondolier propels his gondola, *i. e.* with a single long oar or paddle, which he pushed from him standing at the stern. They would then in these boats attack the vessels of the enemy, which are always represented as smaller than theirs, run them down or board them, kill their crews or force them into the water, or perhaps allow them to surrender. Meanwhile the Assyrian cavalry was stationed round the marsh among the tall reeds which thickly clothed its edge, ready to seize or slay such of the fugitives as might escape from the foot.

When the refuge sought was an island, if it lay near the shore, the Assyrians would sometimes employ the natives of the adjacent coast to transport beams of wood and other materials by means of their boats, in order to form a sort of bridge or mole reaching from the mainland to the isle whereto their foes had fled.[9] Such a design was entertained, or at least professed, by Xerxes after the destruction of his fleet in the battle of Salamis,[10] and it was successfully executed by Alexander the Great, who took in this way the new or island Tyre.[11] From a series of reliefs discovered at Khorsabad we may con-

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pare Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 92. The larger *terradas* are of teak, but the smaller "consist of a very narrow framework of rushes covered with bitumen." These last seem to be the exact counterpart of the boats represented in the sculptures. (See Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pls. 25, 27, and 28.)

[8] Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, l. s. c.

[9] Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, vol. i. Pls. 31 to 35.

[10] Herod. viii. p. 97; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 26; Strab. ix. 1, § 13.

[11] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 18.

clude that more than two hundred years before the earlier of these two occasions, the Assyrians had conceived the idea, and even succeeded in carrying out the plan,[12] of reducing islands near the coast by moles.

Unlike the Chaldæans, whose "cry was in their ships,"[13] the Assyrians seem very rarely to have adventured themselves upon the deep. If their enemies fled to islands which could not be reached by moles, or to lands across the sea, in almost every instance they escaped. Such escapes are represented upon the sculptures,[14] where we see the Assyrians taking a maritime town at one end, while at the other the natives are embarking their women and children, and putting to sea, without any pursuit being made after them. In none of the bas-reliefs do we observe any seagoing vessels with Assyrians on board; and history tells us of but two or three expeditions by sea in which they took part. One of these was an expedition by Sennacherib against the coasts of the Persian Gulf, to which his Chaldæan enemies had fled. On this occasion he brought shipwrights from Phœnicia to Assyria, and made them build him ships there, which were then launched upon the Tigris, and conveyed down to the sea. With a fleet thus constructed, and probably manned, by Phœnicians, Sennacherib crossed to the opposite coast, defeated the refugees, and, embarking his prisoners on board, returned in triumph to the mainland.[15] Another

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[12] Unless they had been successful, they would not, we may be sure, have made the construction of the mole the subject of a set of bas-reliefs.

[13] Isaiah xliii. 14.

[14] See the description in Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, p. 16, and compare *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 384.

[15] *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xix. p. 154.

expedition was that of Shalmaneser against the island Tyre.[16] Assyrians are said to have been personally engaged in it; but here again we are told that they embarked in ships furnished to them by the Phœnicians, and manned by Phœnician sailors.

When a country was regarded as subjugated, the Assyrian monarch commonly marked the establishment of his sovereignty by erecting a memorial in some conspicuous or important situation within the territory conquered, as an enduring sign of his having taken possession. These memorials were either engraved on the natural rock or on solid blocks of stone cut into the form of a broad low *stele*. They contained a figure of the king, usually enclosed in an arched frame, and an inscription of greater or less length, setting forth his name, his titles, and some of his exploits. More than thirty such memorials are mentioned in the extant Inscriptions, and the researches of recent times have recovered some six or seven of them.[1] They uniformly represent the king in his sacerdotal robes, with the sacred collar round his neck, and the emblems of the gods above his head, raising the right hand in the act of adoration, as if he were giving thanks to

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[16] Menander ap. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* ix. 14, § 2. It has been thought that Sargon attacked Cyprus. (Oppert, *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 19.) But his monument found at Idalium does not prove that he carried his arms there. By the inscription it appears that the tablet was carved *at Babylon*, and conveyed thence to Cyprus by Cyprian envoys.

[1] One such memorial is the well known rock-sculpture at the Nahr-el-Kelb; there is another of the same character at Bavian, a third at Egil, on the main Tigris stream above Diarbekr, and there are two others at the sources of the eastern Tigris, or river of Supnat. Two block memorials have been found at Kurkh, 20 miles below Diarbekr, recording the exploits of Asshur-idanni-pal, and his son, Shalmaneser II. They were discovered by Mr. John Taylor in 1862, and are now in the British Museum. The Egil and Supnat tablets were also discovered by Mr. Taylor.

Asshur and his guardian deities on account of his successes.

It is now time to pass from the military customs of the Assyrians to a consideration of their habits and usages in time of peace, so far as they are made known to us either by historical records or by the pictorial evidence of the bas-reliefs. And here it may be convenient to treat separately of the public life of the king and court, and of the private life of the people.

In Assyria, as in most Oriental countries, the key-stone of the social arch, the central point of the system, round which all else revolved and on which all else depended, was the monarch. "L'état, c'est moi" might have been said with more truth by an Assyrian prince than even by the "Grand Monarque" whose *dictum* it is reported to have been. Alike in the historical notices, and in the sculptures, we have the person of the king presented to us with consistent prominence, and it is consequently with him that we most naturally commence the present portion of our inquiry.

The ordinary dress of the monarch in time of peace was a long flowing robe, reaching to the ankles, elaborately patterned and fringed, over which was worn, first, a broad belt, and then a species of open mantle, or chasuble, very curiously contrived. This consisted mainly of two large flaps, both of which were commonly rounded, though sometimes one of them was square at bottom.[2] These fell over the robe in front and behind, leaving the sides open,

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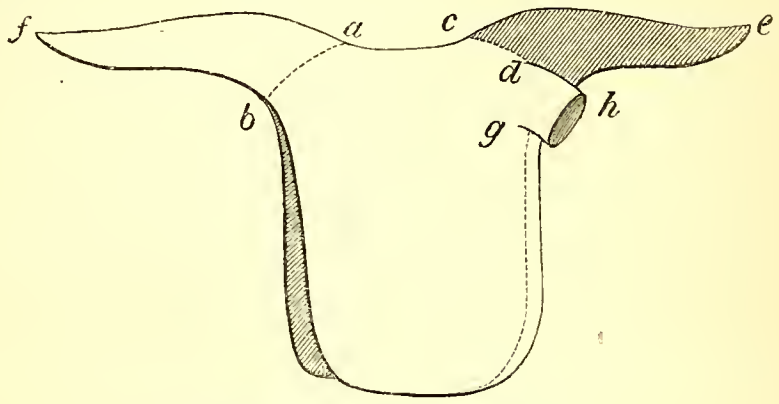
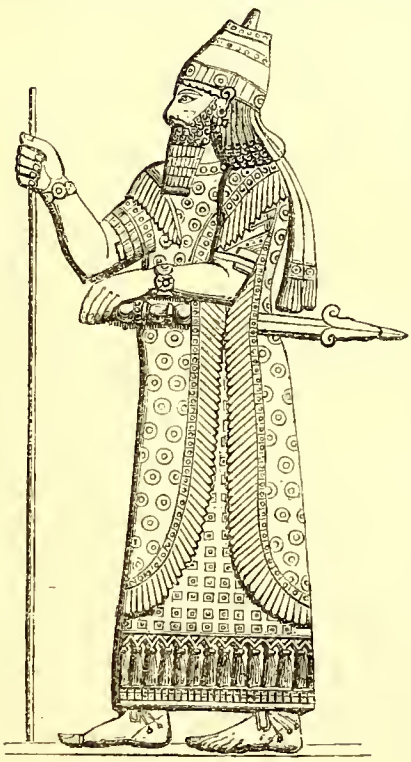
[2] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series. Pl. 34. The squared flap is always that which is worn behind.

and so exposing the under dress to view. The two flaps must have been sewn together at the places



Chasuble, or outer garment of the king.

marked with the dotted lines *a b* and *c d*,[3] the space from *a* to *b* being left open, and the mantle passed by that means over the head. At *d g* there was commonly a short sleeve (*h*), which covered the upper part of the left arm, but the right arm was left free, the mantle falling on either side of it. Sometimes, besides the flaps, the mantle seems to have had two pointed wings attached to the shoulders (*a f b* and *c e h* in the woodcut), which were made to fall over in front. Occasionally there was worn above the



King in his robes.

[3] The account and the representation of this complicated garment are taken mainly from the work of M. Botta (*Monument de Ninive*, vol. v. p. 84). But the author has slightly modified both M. Botta's theory and his illustration.

chasuble a broad diagonal belt, ornamented with a deep fringe, and sometimes there depended at the back of the dress a species of large hood.[4]

The special royal head-dress was a tall mitre or tiara, which at first took the shape of the head, but rose above it to a certain height in a gracefully curved line, when it was covered in with a top, flat, like that of a hat, but having a projection towards the centre, which rose up into a sort of apex or peak,

Tiara of the later period (Koyunjik).

Tiara of the earlier period (Nimrud).

not however pointed, but either rounded or squared off. The tiara was generally ornamented with a succession of bands, between which were commonly patterns more or less elaborate. Ordinarily the lowest band, instead of running parallel with the others, rose with a gentle curve towards the front, allowing room for a large rosette over the forehead, and for other similar ornaments. If we may trust the representations on the enamelled bricks, sup-

[4] See Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. opp. p. 7.

ported as they are to some extent by the tinted reliefs, we may say that the tiara was of three colours, red, yellow, and white.[5] The red and white alternated in broad bands; the ornaments upon them were yellow, being probably either embroidered on the material of the head-dress in threads of gold, or composed of thin gold plates which may have been sewn on. The general material of the tiara is likely to have been cloth or felt; it can scarcely have been metal, if the deep crimson tint of the bricks and the reliefs is true.

In the early sculptures the tiara is more depressed than in the later, and it is also less richly ornamented. It has seldom more than two bands, viz. a narrow one at top, and at bottom a broader curved one, rising towards the front. To this last are attached two long strings or lappets, which fall behind the monarch's back to a level with his elbow.

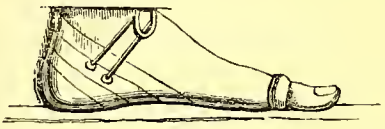
Another head-dress which the monarch sometimes wore was a sort of band or fillet. This was either elevated in front and ornamented with a single rosette, like the lowest band of the tiara, or else of uniform width and patterned along its whole course.[6] In either case there depended from it, on each side of the back hair, a long riband or streamer, fringed at the end, and sometimes ornamented with a delicate pattern.

Fillet worn by the king (Nimrud).

The monarch's feet were protected by sandals or

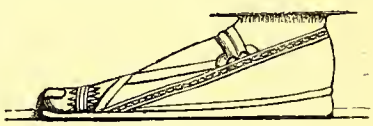
[5] See Botta's *Monument*, vol. i. Pl. 12, and vol. ii. Pl. 155.
[6] See the second woodcut on page 124.

shoes. In the early sculptures sandals only appear in use, shoes being unknown[1] (as it would seem) until the time of Sennacherib. The sandals worn were of two kinds. The simplest sort had a very thin sole and a small cap for the heel, made apparently of a number of strips of leather[2] sewn together. It was held in place by a loop over the great toe, attached to the fore part of the sole, and by a string which was laced backwards and forwards across the instep, and then tied in a bow.



Royal sandal (time of Sargon).

The other kind of sandal had a very different sort of sole; it was of considerable thickness, especially at the heel, from which it gradually tapered to the toe. Attached to this was an upper leather which protected the heel and the whole of the side of the foot, but left the toes and the instep exposed. A loop fastened to the sole[3] received the great toe, and at the point where the loop was inserted two straps were also made fast, which were then carried on either side the great toe to the top of the foot, where they crossed each other, and,



Royal sandal (time of Sardanapalus I.).

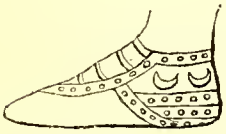
[1] Shoes were not absolutely unknown to the Assyrians, even in the earliest period, since they are represented on the feet of foreign tribute-bearers as early as the Black Obelisk king. Boots are also represented in this monarch's sculptures. But *Assyrians* wear neither till the reign of Sennacherib.

[2] At Khorsabad these strips were sometimes coloured alternately red and blue. More often the entire sandal had a reddish tint. M. Botta observes that a sandal shaped exactly like this is worn to the present day in the Mount Sinjar, and in other parts of Mesopotamia. (*Monument*, vol. v. p. 85.)

[3] Mr. Layard regards this loop as a mere twist of the strap round the great toe (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 324); but I find it sometimes clearly represented as springing from the sole. Thus only would it add much to the hold of the foot on the sandal.

passing twice through rings attached to the edge of the upper leather, were finally fastened, probably by a buckle, at the top of the instep.

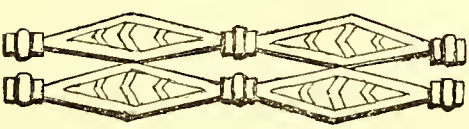
The shoe worn by the later kings was of a coarse and clumsy make, very much rounded at the toe, patterned with rosettes, crescents, and the like, and (apparently) laced in front. In this respect it differed from the shoe of the queen, which will be represented presently,[4] and also from the shoes worn by the tribute-bearers.



Royal shoe (time of Sennacherib).

The accessory portions of the royal costume were chiefly belts, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, and earrings. Besides the belt round the waist, in which two or three highly ornamented daggers were frequently thrust, and the broad fringed cross-belt, of which mention was made above,[5] the Assyrian monarch wore a narrow cross-belt passing across his right shoulder, from which his sword hung at his left side. This belt was sometimes patterned with rosettes. It was worn over the front flap of the chasuble, but under the back flap, and was crossed at right angles by the broad fringed belt, which was passed over the right arm and head so as to fall across the left shoulder.

The royal necklaces were of two kinds. Some consisted merely of one or more strings of long lozenge-shaped beads, slightly chased and connected by small links, ribbed perpendicularly. The other kind was a band or collar, perhaps of gold, on



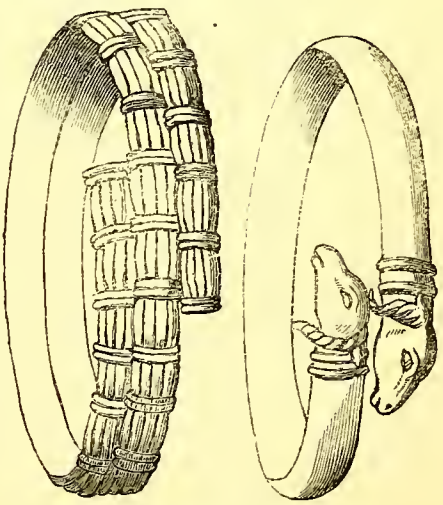
Royal necklace (Nimrud).

[4] Infra, p. 107. [5] See p. 99.

which were hung a number of sacred emblems : as the crescent or emblem of the Moon-God, Sin ; the four-rayed disk, the emblem of the Sun-God, Shamas ; the six-rayed or eight-rayed disk, the emblem of Gula, the Sun-Goddess; the horned cap, perhaps the emblem of the king's guardian genius ; and the double or triple bolt, which was the emblem of Iva, the god of the atmosphere. This sacred collar was a part of the king's civil and not merely of his sacerdotal dress ; as appears from the fact that it was sometimes worn when the king was merely receiving prisoners.[6]

Royal collar (Nimrud).

The monarch wore a variety of armlets. The most common was a plain bar of a single twist, the ends of which slightly overlapped each other. A more elegant kind was similar to this, except that the bar terminated in animal heads carefully wrought, among which the heads of rams, horses, and ducks were the most common. A third sort has the appearance of being composed of a number of long strings or wires, confined at intervals of less than an inch by cross bands at right angles to the wires. This sort was carried round the arm twice, and even then its ends overlapped considerably. It is probable that all the

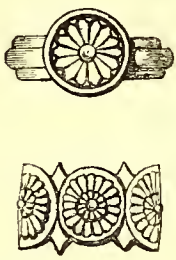


Royal armlets (Khorsabad).

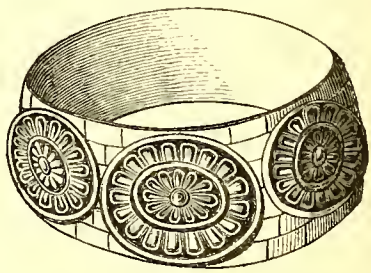
[6] See Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 82.

armlets were of metal, and that the appearance of the last was given to it by the workman in imitation of an earlier and ruder armlet of worsted or leather.

The bracelets of the king, like his armlets, were sometimes mere bars of metal, quite plain and without ornament. More often, however, they were ribbed and adorned with a large rosette at the centre. Sometimes, instead of one simple rosette, we see three double rosettes, between which project small points,



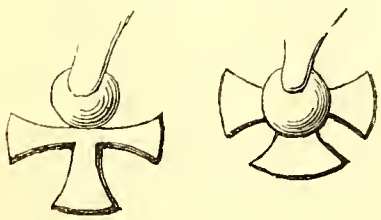
Royal bracelets (Khorsabad and Koyunjik).



Royal bracelet (Khorsabad).

shaped like the head of a spear. Occasionally these double rosettes appear to be set on the surface of a broad bar, which is chased so as to represent brickwork. In no case can we see how the bracelets were fastened; perhaps they were elastic and were slipped over the hand.[7]

Specimens of royal ear-rings have been already given in the first volume of this work.[8] The most ordinary form in the early times was a long drop, which was sometimes delicately chased.[9] Another common kind was an



Royal ear-rings (Nimrud).

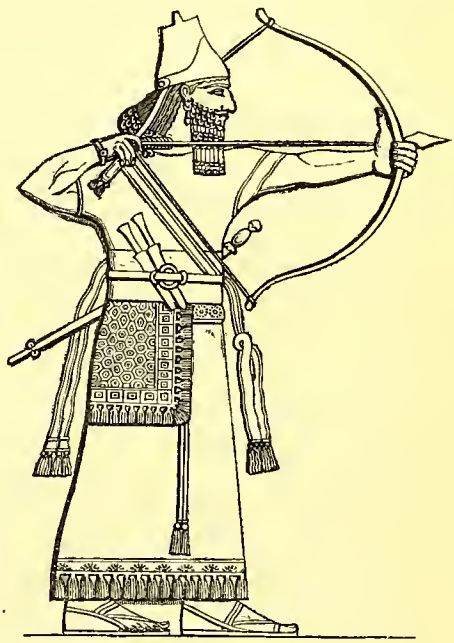
[7] Roman bracelets were sometimes fastened with catches. (See *Dictionary of Antiquities*, p. 136, 2nd ed.) But more often they were left open, like the Assyrian armlets, and merely clung to the arm.

[8] Vol. i. p. 461.

[9] See the Woodcut nearest the top of the page, supra, vol. i. l. s. c.

incomplete Maltese cross, one arm of the four being left out because it would have interfered with the ear. In later times there was a good deal of variety in the details; but the drop and the cross were always favourite features.

When the monarch went out to the hunt or to the battle, he laid aside such ornaments as encumbered him, reserving however his ear-rings, bracelets, and armlets, and then, stripping off his upper dress or chasuble, appeared in the under robe which has been already described.[10] This robe was confined at the waist by a broad cincture or girdle, outside of which was worn a narrowish belt wherein daggers were often thrust. In early times this cincture seems to have been fastened by a riband with long streaming ends, which are very conspicuous in the Nimrud sculptures. At the same period the monarch often wore, when he hunted or went out to battle, a garment which might have been called an apron, if it had not been worn behind instead of in front. This was generally patterned and fringed very richly, besides being ornamented with one or more long pendant tassels.



King in his war-costume (Nimrud).

The sacerdotal dress of the king, or that which he

[10] Supra, p. 97. This change of dress is almost universal in the earliest and in the latest sculptures. In the intermediate period, however, the time of Sargon and Sennacherib, the monarch goes out to war in his chasuble.

commonly wore when engaged in the rites of his religion, differed considerably from his ordinary costume. His inner garment, indeed, seems to have been the usual long gown with a fringe descending to the ankles; but this was almost entirely concealed under an ample outer robe, which was closely wrapped round the form, and kept in place by a girdle. A deep fringe, arranged in two rows, one above the other, and carried round the robe in curved sweeps at an angle with the horizontal line, is the most striking feature of this dress, which is also remarkable for the manner in which it confines and conceals the left arm, while the right is left free and exposed to view. A representation of a king thus apparelled will be found in the first volume of this work,[1] taken from a statue now in the British Museum. It is peculiar in having the head uncovered, and in the form of the implement borne in the right hand. It is also incomplete as a representation, from the fact that all the front of the breast is occupied by an inscription. Other examples[2] show that the tiara was commonly worn as a part of the sacerdotal costume; that the sacred collar[3] adorned the breast, necklaces the neck, and bracelets the two arms; while in the belt, which was generally to some extent knotted, were borne two or three daggers. The mace seems to have been a necessary appendage to the costume, and was always grasped just below its head by the left hand.

We have but one representation of an Assyrian queen. Despite the well-known stories of Semiramis

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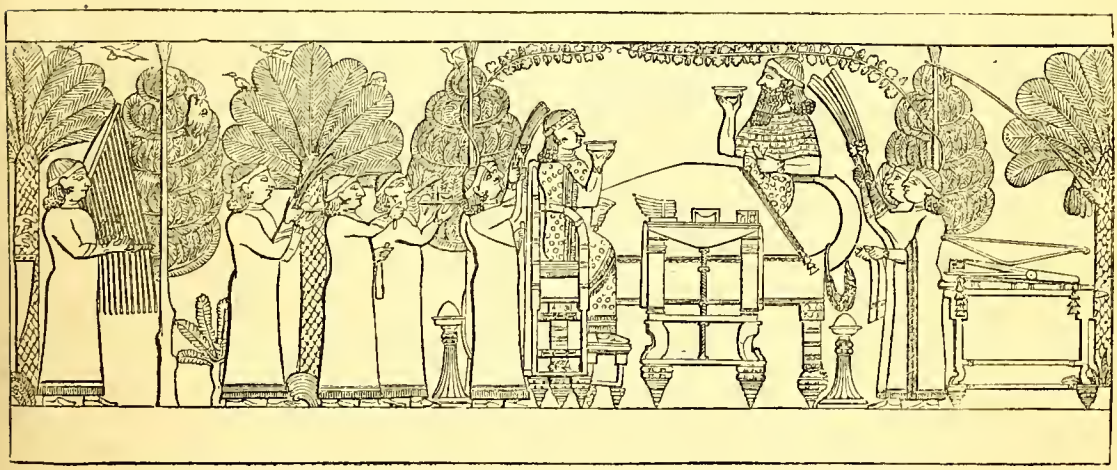
[1] See vol. i. p. 424.

[2] Particularly the slab engraved by Mr. Layard in his *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 25, with which compare the figure in an arched frame represented in the same author's *Nineveh and Babylon*, opp. p. 351.

[3] For a representation of the sacred collar, see above, p. 103.

and her manifold exploits, it would seem that the Assyrians secluded their females with as rigid and watchful a jealousy as modern Turks or Persians. The care taken with respect to the direction of the passages in the royal *hareem* has been noticed in the first volume.[4] It is quite in accordance with the spirit thus indicated, and with the general tenor of Oriental habits, that neither in inscriptions[5] nor in sculptured representations do the Assyrians allow their women to make more than a most rare and occasional appearance. Fortunately for us, their jealousy was sometimes relaxed to a certain extent; and in one scene, recovered from the *débris* of an Assyrian palace,[6] we are enabled to contemplate at once the domestic life of the monarch and the attire and even the features of his consort.



King, queen, and attendants (Koyunjik).

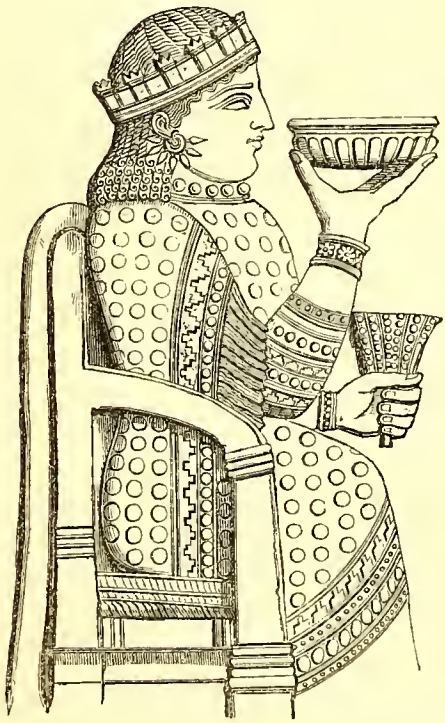
It appears that in the private apartments, while the king, like the Romans and the modern Orientals, reclined upon a couch, leaning his weight partly

[4] See vol. i. p. 372.

[5] Mention of an Assyrian woman has been found as yet in only two inscriptions, one being that on the duplicate statues of Nebo now in the British Museum, and the other being a tablet-inscription belonging to the reign of the last known king.

[6] The scene is from the palace of Esar-haddon's son (Asshur-bani-pal) at Koyunjik. It is now in the National Collection.

upon his left elbow,[7] and having his right arm free and disposable, her majesty the queen sat in a chair of state by the couch's side, near its foot and facing her lord. Two eunuchs provided with large fans were in attendance upon the monarch, and the same number waited upon the queen, standing behind her chair. Her majesty, whose hair was arranged nearly like that of her royal consort, wore upon her head a band or fillet having something of the appearance of a crown of towers, such as encircles the brow of Cybele on Greek coins and statues. Her dress was a long-sleeved gown reaching from the neck to the feet, flounced and trimmed at the bottom in an elaborate way, and elsewhere patterned with rosettes, over which she wore a fringed tunic or frock, descending half-way between the knees and the feet. In addition to these two garments, she wore upon her back and shoulders a light cloak or cape, patterned (like the rest of her dress) with rosettes and edged with a deep fringe. Her feet were encased in shoes of a clumsy make, also patterned. Her ornaments, besides the crown upon her head, were ear-rings,



Enlarged figure of the queen (Koyunjik).

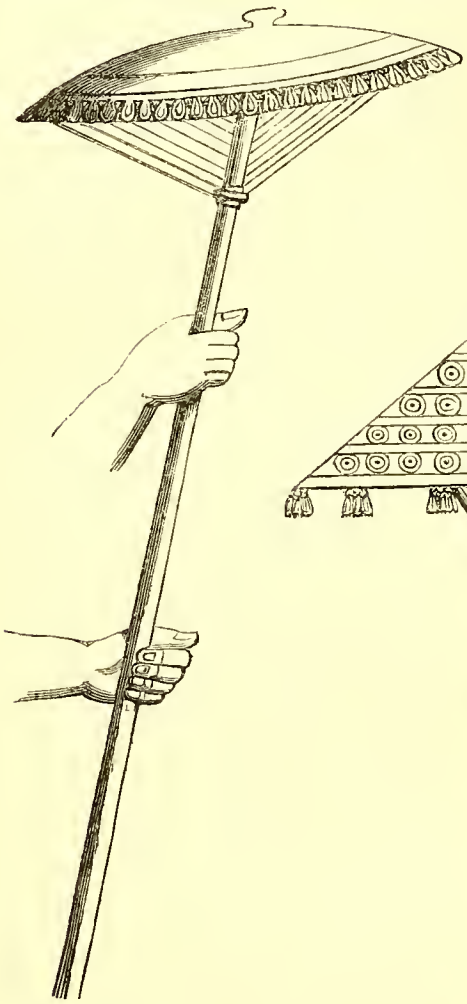
[7] Horat. Od. I. xxviii. 8.—"Et *cubito* remanete *presso*." See also Sat. I. iv. 39. The Roman fashion has been thus described (and the description would evidently suit the Assyrians just as well)—"They lay with the upper part of the body resting on the left arm, the head a little raised, the back supported by cushions, and the limbs stretched out at full length, or a little bent." (Lipsius, *Antiq. Lect.* iii.)

a necklace, and bracelets. Her chair was cushioned, and adorned with a drapery which hung over the back. Her feet rested on a handsome footstool, also cushioned.

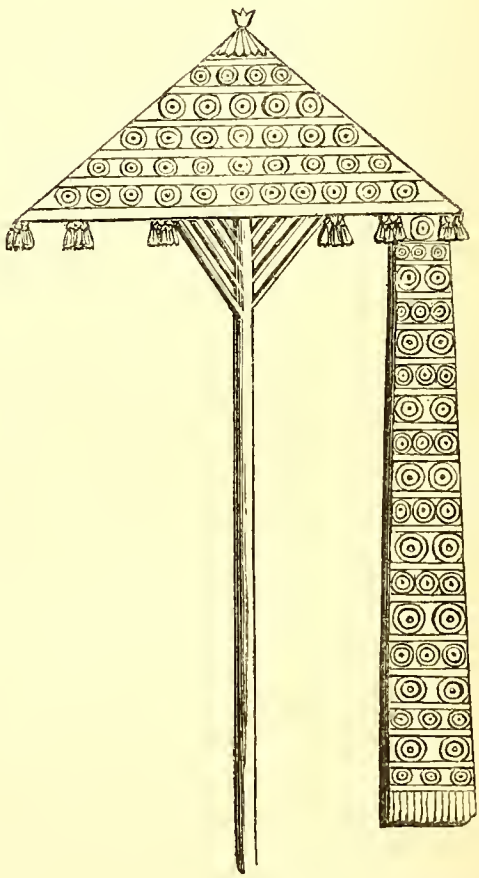
On the slab from which this description is taken the royal pair seem to be refreshing themselves with wine. Each supports on the thumb and fingers of the right hand a saucer or shallow drinking-cup, probably of some precious metal, which they raise to their lips simultaneously, as if they were pledging one another. The scene of the entertainment is the palace-garden; for trees grow on either side of the main figures, while over their heads a vine hangs its festoons and its rich clusters. By the side of the royal couch, and in front of the queen, is a table, covered with a table-cloth, on which are a small box or casket, a species of shallow bowl which may have held incense or perfume of some kind, and a third article frequently seen in close proximity to the king, but of whose use it is impossible to form a conjecture. At the couch's head stands another curious article, a sort of tall vase surmounted by a sugarloaf, which probably represents an altar. The king bears in his left hand the lotus or sacred flower, while the queen holds in hers what looks like a modern fan. All the lower part of the monarch's person is concealed beneath a coverlet, which is plain, except that it has tassels at the corners and an embroidered border.

The officers in close attendance upon the monarch varied according to his employment. In war he was accompanied by his charioteer, his shield-bearer or shield-bearers, his groom, his quiver-bearer, his mace-bearer, and sometimes by his parasol-bearer. In peace the parasol-bearer is always represented as in attendance, except in hunting expeditions, or where

he is replaced by a fan-bearer. The parasol, which exactly resembled that still in use throughout the East, was reserved exclusively for the monarch. It had a tall and thick pole, which the bearer grasped



Royal Parasol (Nimrud).



Royal parasol (Koyunjik).

with both his hands, and in the early times a somewhat small circular top. Under the later kings the size of the head was considerably enlarged, and, at the same time, a curtain or flap was attached, which, falling from the edge of the parasol, more effectually

protected the monarch from the sun's rays. The head of the parasol was fringed with tassels, and the upper extremity of the pole commonly terminated in a flower or other ornament. In the later times both the head and the curtain which depended from it were richly patterned. If we may trust the remains of colour upon the Khorsabad sculptures, the tints preferred were red and white, which alternated in bands upon the parasol as upon the royal tiara.

There was nothing very remarkable in the dress or quality of the royal attendants. Except the groom, the charioteer, and the shield-bearers, they were in the early times almost invariably eunuchs; but the later kings seem to have preferred eunuchs for the offices of parasol-bearer and fan-bearer only. The dress of the eunuchs is most commonly a long fringed gown, reaching from the neck to the feet, with very short sleeves, and a broad belt or girdle confining the gown at the waist. Sometimes they have a cross-belt also; and occasionally both this and the girdle round the waist are richly fringed.[1] The eunuchs commonly wear ear-rings, and sometimes armlets and bracelets; in a few instances they have their necks adorned with necklaces, and their long dresses elaborately patterned.[2] Their heads are either bare,[3] or at most encircled with a fillet.

A peculiar physiognomy is assigned to this class of persons—the forehead low, the nose small and rounded, the lips full, the chin large and double, the cheeks bloated. They are generally represented as

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[1] See vol. i. p. 363 and p. 367. M. Botta supposes that *both* fringes were attached to the cross-belt (*Monument de Ninive*, vol. v. p. 86); but in that case the lower of the two would scarcely have terminated, as it does, horizontally.

[2] See Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, First Series, Pl. 5.

[3] See the illustration in vol. i. p. 297, and compare below, pp. 114, 118, and 124.

Heads of Eunuchs (Nimrud).

shorter and stouter than the other Assyrians. Though placed in confidential situations about the person of the monarch, they seem not to have held very high or important offices. The royal Vizier is never a eunuch, and eunuchs are rarely seen among the soldiers; they are scribes, cooks, musicians, perhaps priests;[4] they are grooms-in-waiting, huntsmen, parasol-bearers, and fan-bearers; but it cannot be said with truth that they had the same power in Assyria which they have commonly possessed in the more degraded of the Oriental monarchies. It is perhaps a sound interpretation of the name Rabsaris in Scripture to understand it as titular, not appellative,[5] and to translate it "the Chief Eunuch" or "the Master of the Eunuchs;" and if so, we have an instance of the employment by one Assyrian king of a person of this class on an embassy to a petty sovereign; but the sculptures are far from bearing out the notion that

[4] This point will be considered in the chapter on the Religion of the Assyrians.

[5] See Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 590.

eunuchs held the *same* high position in the Assyrian court as they have since held generally in the East,[6] where they have not only continually filled the highest offices of state, but have even attained to sovereign power. On the contrary, their special charge seems rather to have been the menial offices about the person of the monarch, which imply confidence in the fidelity of those to whom they are intrusted, but not submission to their influence in the conduct of state affairs. And it is worthy of notice, that, instead of becoming more influential as time went on, they appear to have become less so; in the later sculptures the royal attendants are far less generally eunuchs than in the earlier ones;[7] and the difference is most marked in the more important offices.[8]

It is not quite certain that the Chief Eunuch is represented upon the sculptures. Perhaps we may recognise him in an attendant, who commonly bears a fan, but whose special badge of office is a long fringed scarf or band, which hangs down below his middle both before him and behind him, being passed over the left shoulder. This officer appears in one bas-relief alone in front of the king; in another he stands on the right hand of the Vizier, level with him, facing the king as he drinks; in a third he receives prisoners after a battle; while in another part of the same sculpture he is in the king's camp preparing the table for his master's supper. There is

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[6] This is Mr. Layard's view. (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 325.) It seems to me overcharged.

[7] See especially the slabs of Ashur-bani-pal (Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pls. 47 to 49), where less than half the royal attendants are eunuchs.

[8] From the time of Sennacherib downwards the king's quiver-bearer and mace-bearer, two attendants very close to his person, cease to be eunuchs.

always a good deal of ornamentation about his dress, which otherwise nearly resembles that of the inferior royal attendants, consisting of a long fringed gown or robe, a girdle fringed or plain, a cross-belt generally fringed, and the scarf already described. His head and feet are generally bare, though sometimes the latter are protected by sandals.[9] He is found only upon the sculptures of the early period.

The chief Eunuch (?)—Nimrud.

Among the officers who have free access to the royal person, there is one who stands out with such marked prominence from the rest, that he has been properly recognised as the Grand Vizier or prime minister[10] —at once the chief counsellor of the monarch, and the man whose special business it was to signify and execute his will. The dress of the Grand Vizier is more rich than that of any other person except the monarch;[11] and there are certain portions of his apparel which he and the king have alone the privilege of wear-

[9] See below, p. 118.

[10] Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 327. M. Botta suggests that this prominent officer is "un Mage" (*Monument*, vol. v. p. 86); but he appears in scenes which have no religious character.

[11] Sometimes, where the king and the vizier appear together, the robe of the vizier is even richer in its ornamentation than that of the monarch. (See Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 23.)

ing. These are, principally, the tasselled apron and the fringed band depending from the fillet, the former of which is found in the early period only,[12] while the latter belongs to no particular time, but throughout the whole series of sculptures is the distinctive mark of royal or quasi-royal authority. To these two may be added the long ribbon or scarf, with double streamers at the ends, which depended from, and perhaps fastened, the belt[13]—a royal ornament worn also by the vizier in at least one representation.[14]

Head-dress of the Vizier (Khorsabad).

The chief garment of the Vizier is always a long fringed robe, reaching from the neck to the feet. This is generally trimmed with embroidery at the top, round the sleeves, and round the bottom. It is either seen to be confined by a broad belt round the waist, or else is covered from the waist to the knees by two falls of a heavy and deep fringe. In this latter case a broad cross-belt is worn over the left shoulder, and the upper fall of fringe hangs from the cross-belt. A fillet is worn upon the head, which is often highly ornamented.[1] The feet are sometimes bare, but more often are protected by sandals, or (as

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[12] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 12 and 23. There is one bas-relief where the tasselled apron is worn, not only by the Vizier, but also by the Chief Eunuch and other principal attendants. See below, p. 118.

[13] See above, p. 105, and compare the illustration opposite.

[14] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 12.

[1] See the above woodcut.

in the accompanying representation) by embroidered shoes. Ear-rings adorn the ears; bracelets, sometimes accompanied by armlets, the arms. A sword is generally worn at the left side.

Costume of the Vizier.
(Time of Sennacherib.)

Costume of the Vizier.
(Time of Asshur-idanni-pal.)

The Vizier is ordinarily represented in one of two attitudes. Either he stands with his two hands joined in front of him, the right hand in the left, and the fingers, not clasped, but left loose,—the ordinary attitude of passive and respectful attention, in which officers who carry nothing await the orders of the king,—or he has the right arm raised, the elbow bent, and the right hand brought to a level with his mouth, while the left hand rests upon the hilt of the sword worn by his left side. In this

latter case it may be presumed that we have the attitude of conversation, as in the former we have that of attentive listening. Where the Vizier assumes this energetic posture, he is commonly either introducing prisoners or bringing in spoil to the king. When he is quiescent, he stands before the throne to receive the king's orders, or witnesses the ceremony with which it was usual to conclude a successful hunting expedition.

The pre-eminent rank and dignity of this officer is shown, not only by his participation in the insignia of royal authority,[2] but also and very clearly by the fact, that, when he is present, no one ever intervenes between him and the king. He has the undisputed right of precedence, so that he is evidently the first subject of the crown. He, and he alone, is seen addressing the monarch. He does not always accompany the king on his military expeditions; but, when he attends them, he still maintains his position,[3] having a dignity greater than that of any general, and so taking the entire direction of the prisoners and of the spoil.

The royal fan-bearers were two in number. They were invariably eunuchs. Their ordinary position was behind the monarch, on whom they attended alike in the retirement of private life and in religious and civil ceremonies. On some occasions however one of the two was privileged to leave his station behind the king's chair or throne, and, advancing in front, to perform certain functions before the face of his master. He handed his master the sacred cup and waited to receive it back,[4] at the same time

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[2] Supra, p. 115.

[3] See Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 63 and 77; 2nd Series, Pl. 23.

[4] *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 12.

diligently discharging the ordinary duties of his office by keeping up a current of air and chasing away those plagues of the East—the flies. The fan-bearer thus privileged wears always the long tasselled scarf, which seems to have been a badge of office, and may not improbably mark him for the Chief Eunuch.[5] In the absence of the Vizier, or sometimes in subordination to him,[6] he introduced captives to the king, reading out their names and titles from a scroll or tablet which he held in his left hand.

Prisoners presented by the Chief Eunuch (Nimrud obelisk).

The fan carried by these attendants seems in most instances to have been made of feathers. It had a shortish handle, which was generally more or less ornamented, and frequently terminated in the head of a ram or other animal. The feathers were sometimes of great length, and bent gracefully by their own weight, as they were pointed slantingly towards the monarch. Occasionally a comparatively short fan was used, and the feathers were replaced by a

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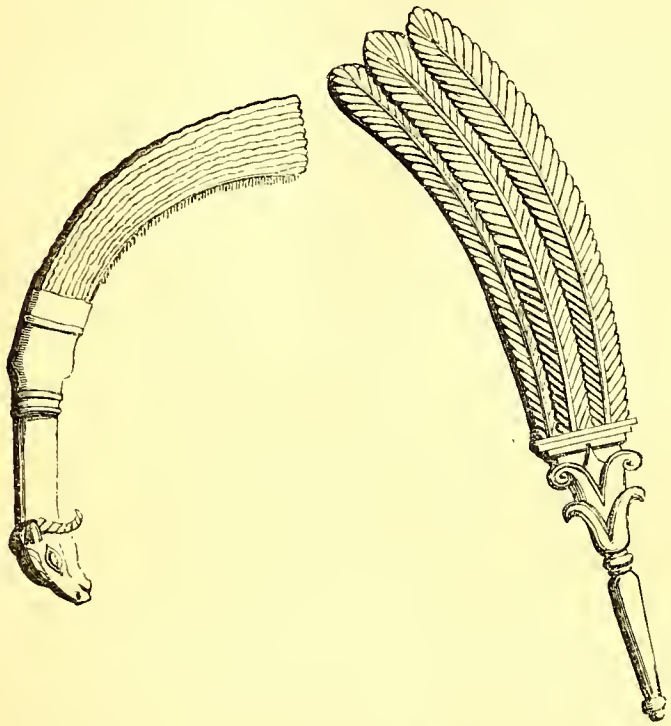
[5] Supra, p. 113.

[6] See the Black Obelisk, First Side (*Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st Series, Pl. 53), where the king is faced by the vizier in the topmost compartment, and immediately below by this official, represented as in the woodcut above.

sort of brush, which may have been made of horse-hair, or possibly of some vegetable fibre.[7]



Fans or fly-flappers (Nimrud and Koyunjik).

The other attendants on the monarch require no special notice. With regard to their number, however, it may be observed, that, although the sculptures generally do not represent them as very numerous, there is reason to believe that they amounted to several hundreds. The enormous size of the palaces can scarcely be otherwise accounted for: and in one sculpture of an exceptional character, where the artist seems to have aimed at representing his subject in full, we can count above seventy attendants present with the monarch at one time.[8] Of these

[7] The short brush-fan belongs to the earlier, the long feathered fan to the later period. (See the Woodcuts on pp. 107, 118, and 134.)

[8] *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd Series, Pls. 47 to 49.

less than one-half are eunuchs; and these wear the long robe with the fringed belt and cross-belt. The other attendants wear in many cases the same costume; sometimes, however, they are dressed in a tunic and greaves, like the soldiers.[9]

There can be no doubt that the court ceremonial of the Assyrians was stately and imposing. The monarch seems indeed not to have affected that privacy and seclusion which forms a predominant feature of the ceremonial observed in most Oriental monarchies.[10] He showed himself very freely to his subjects on many occasions. He superintended in person the accomplishment of his great works.[11] In war and in the chase he rode in an open chariot, never using a litter, though litters were not unknown to the Assyrians.[12] In his expeditions he would often descend from his chariot, and march or fight on foot like the meanest of his subjects. But though thus familiarizing the multitude with his features and appearance, he was far from allowing familiarity of address. Both in peace and war he was attended by various officers of state, and no one had speech of him except through them. It would even seem as if two persons only were entitled to open a conversation with him—the Vizier and the Chief Eunuch. When he received them, he generally placed himself upon his throne,

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[9] Still they do not seem to be soldiers. They carry neither spears, shields, nor bows, and they stand with the hands joined—an attitude peculiar to the royal attendants.

[10] Herodotus ascribed the invention of this practice to Deïoces, his first Median king (i. 99). Diodorus believed that it had prevailed in Assyria at a much earlier date (ii. 21). But in this he was certainly mistaken. On its general prevalence in the East see Brisson, *De Reg. Pers. Princ.* i. p. 23; and compare Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xiii. (vol. ii. p. 95, Smith's edition).

[11] Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd Series, Pls. 12 and 15.

[12] See below, p. 224.

sitting, while they stood to address him. It is strongly indicative of the haughty pride of these sovereigns, that they carried with them in their distant expeditions the cumbrous thrones[1] whereon they were wont to sit when they dispensed justice or received homage. On these thrones they sat, in or near their fortified camps, when the battle or the siege was ended, and thus sitting they received in state the spoil and the prisoners. Behind them on such occasions were the two fan-bearers, while near at hand were guards, scribes, grooms, and other attendants. In their palace halls undoubtedly the ceremonial used was stricter, grander, and more imposing. The sculptures, however, furnish no direct evidence on this point, for there is nothing to mark the scene of the great processional pieces.

In the pseudo-history of Ctesias the Assyrian kings were represented as voluptuaries of the extremest kind, who passed their whole lives within the palace, in the company of their concubines and their eunuchs, indulging themselves in perpetual ease, pleasure, and luxury.[2] We have already seen how the warlike character of so many monarchs gives the lie to these statements, so far as they tax the Assyrian kings with sloth and idleness.[3] It remains to examine the charge of over-addiction to sensual delights, especially to those of the lowest and grossest description. Now

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[1] For representations of these thrones see vol. i. pp. 487, 488. Sargon's throne is represented as carried by two attendants on his triumphant return from an expedition. (Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, vol. i. Pl. 18.) Sennacherib sits on his throne to receive captives outside the walls of a town supposed to be Lachish. (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 150-152.) Instances of kings sitting on their thrones inside their fortified camps will be found in Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 63 and 77.

[2] Diod. Sic. ii. 21, 23.

[3] See above, pp. 69-95.

it is at least remarkable, that, so far as we have any real evidence, the Assyrian kings appear as monogamists. In the inscription on the god Nebo, the artist dedicates his statue "to his lord Iva-lush (?) and *his lady*, Sammuramit."[4] In the solitary sculptured representation of the private life of the king,[5] he is seen in the company of one female only. Even in the very narrative of Ctesias, Ninus has but one wife, Semiramis;[6] and Sardanapalus, notwithstanding his many concubines, has but five children, three sons and two daughters.[7] It is not intended to press these arguments to an extreme, or to assume, on the strength of them, that the Assyrian monarchs were really faithful to one woman. They may have had—nay, it is probable that they had—a certain number of concubines; but there is really not the least ground for believing that they carried concubinage to an excess, or overstepped in this respect the practice of the best Eastern sovereigns. At any rate they were not the voluptuaries which Ctesias represented them. A considerable portion of their lives was passed in the toils and dangers of war; and their peaceful hours, instead of being devoted to sloth and luxury in the retirement of the palace, were chiefly employed, as we shall presently see, in active and manly exercises in the field, which involved much exertion and no small personal peril.

The favourite occupation of the king in peace was the chase of the lion. In the early times he usually started on a hunting expedition in his chariot, dressed as when he went out to war, and attended by his

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[4] See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 382, note [2], 2nd ed.

[5] Supra, p. 107.

[6] Diod. Sic. ii. 4, § 1; 7, § 1.

[7] Ibid. ii. 26, § 8.

charioteer, some swordsmen, and a groom holding a led horse. He carried a bow and arrows, a sword, one or two daggers, and a spear, which last stood in a rest made for it at the back of the chariot.[8] Two quivers, each containing an axe and an abundant supply of arrows, hung from the chariot transversely across its right side, while a shield armed with teeth was suspended behind. When a lion was found, the king pursued it in his chariot, letting fly his arrows as he went, and especially seeking to pierce the animal about the heart and head. Sometimes he transfixed the beast with three or four shafts before it succumbed. Occasionally the lion attacked him in his chariot, and was met with spear and shield,[9] or with a fresh arrow, according to the exigencies of the moment, or the monarch's preference for one or the other weapon. On rare occasions the monarch descended to the ground, and fought afoot. He would then engage the lion in close combat with no other weapon but a short sword, which he strove to plunge, and often plunged, into its heart.

King killing a lion (Nimrud).

In the later times, though the chariot was still employed to some extent in the lion-hunts, it appears to have been far more usual for the king to enjoy the sport on foot. He carried a straight sword, which seems to have been a formidable weapon; it was

[8] See vol. i. p. 429.

[9] Ibid. p. 432.

strong, very broad, and two feet or a little more in length. Two attendants waited closely upon the

King, with attendants, spearing a lion (Koyunjik).

monarch, one of whom carried a bow and arrows, while the other was commonly provided with one or two spears. From these attendants the king took the

King, with attendant, stabbing a lion (Koyunjik).

bow or a spear at pleasure, usually commencing the attack with his arrows, and finally despatching the spent animal with sword or spear, as he deemed best. Sometimes, but not very often, the spearman in attendance carried also a shield, and held both spear and shield in advance of his master to protect him from the animal's spring.[10] Generally the monarch faced the danger himself with no such protection, and received the brute on his sword or thrust him through with his pike. Perhaps the sculptures exaggerate the danger which he affronted at such moments; but we can hardly suppose that there was not a good deal of peril incurred in these hand-to-hand contests.[11]

Two modes of hunting the king of beasts were followed at this time. Either he was sought in his native haunts, which were then, as now, the reedy coverts by the side of the canals and great streams; or he was procured beforehand, conveyed to the hunting-ground, and there turned out before the hunters. In the former case, the monarch took the field accompanied by his huntsmen and beaters on horse and foot, these last often holding dogs in leash, which, apparently, were used only to discover and arouse the game, but were not slipped at it when started. No doubt the hunt was sometimes entirely on the land, the monarch accompanying his beaters along one or other of the two banks of a canal or

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[10] See the illustration, vol. i. p. 445.

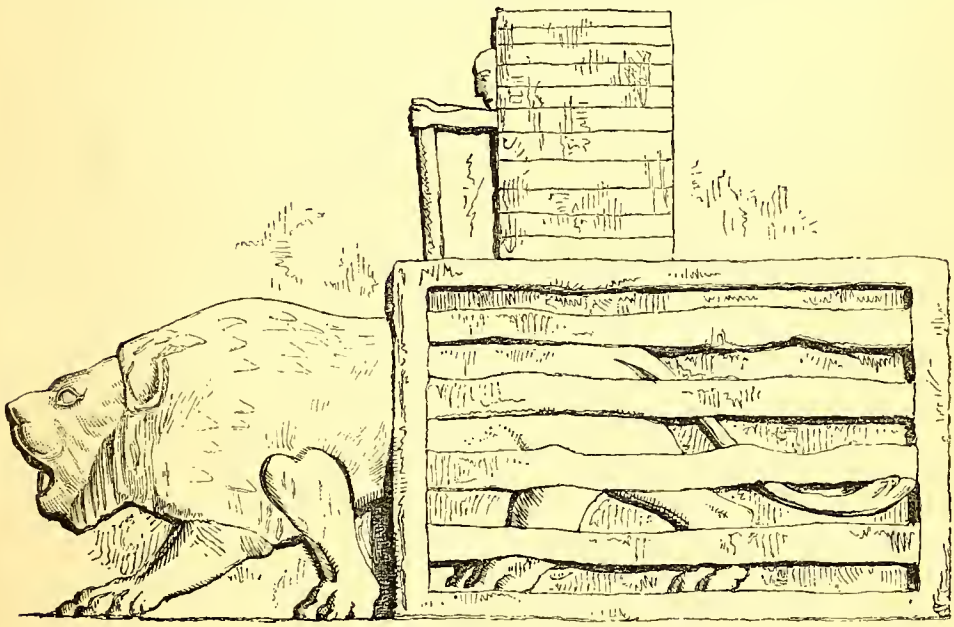
[11] In an inscription appended to one of his sculptures Asshur-bani-pal says—"I, Asshur-bani-pal, king of the nations, king of Assyria, in my great courage fighting on foot with a lion, terrible for his size, seized him by the ear, and in the name of Asshur and Ishtar, Goddess of war, with the spear that was in my hand I terminated his life." (Fox Talbot in *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xix. p. 272.)

stream. But a different plan is known to have been adopted on some occasions. Disposing his beaters to the right and left upon both banks, the monarch with a small band of attendants would take ship, and, while his huntsmen sought to start the game on either side, he would have himself rowed along so as just to keep pace with them, and would find his sport in attacking such lions as took the water. The monarch's place on these occasions was the middle of the boat. Before him and behind him were guards armed with spears, who were thus ready to protect their master, whether the beast attacked him in front or rear. The monarch used a round bow, like that commonly carried in war, and aimed either at the heart or at the head. The spearmen presented their weapons at the same time, while the sides of the boat were also sufficiently high above the water to afford a considerable protection against the animal's spring. An attendant immediately behind the monarch held additional arrows ready for him; and after piercing the noble brute with three or four of these weapons, the monarch had commonly the satisfaction of seeing him sink down and expire. The carcase was then taken from the water: the fore and hind legs were lashed together with string, and the beast was suspended from the hinder part of the boat, where he hung over the water just out of the sweep of the oars.[12]

At other times, when it was felt that the natural chase of the animal might afford little or no sport, the Assyrians (as above stated) called art to their assistance, and, having obtained a supply of lions from a distance, brought them in traps or cages to

[12] See the Woodcut, vol. i. p. 447.

the hunting-ground, and there turned them out before the monarch. The walls of the cage were made of thick spars of wood, with interstices between them, through which the lion could both see and be seen: probably the top was entirely covered with boards, and upon these was raised a sort of low hut or sentry-box, just large enough to contain a man, who, when the proper moment arrived, peeped forth from his concealment and cautiously raised the front of



Lion let out of trap (Koyunjik).

the trap, which was a kind of drop-door working in a groove. The trap being thus opened, the lion stole out, looking somewhat ashamed of his confinement, but doubtless anxious to vent his spleen on the first convenient object. The king, prepared for his attack, saluted him, as he left his cage, with an arrow, and, as he advanced, with others, which sometimes stretched him dead upon the plain, sometimes merely disabled him, while now and then they only goaded him to fury. In this case he would spring at

the royal chariot, clutch some part of it, and in his agony grind it between his teeth,[1] or endeavour to reach the inmates of the car from behind.[2] If the king had descended from the car to the plain, the infuriated beast might make his spring at the royal person, in which case it must have required a stout heart to stand unmoved, and aim a fresh arrow at a vital part while the creature was in mid-air, especially if (as we sometimes see represented) a second lion was following close upon the first and would have to be received within a few seconds.[3] It would seem that the lions on some occasions were not to be goaded into making an attack, but simply endeavoured to escape by flight. To prevent this, troops were drawn up in a double line of spearmen and archers round the space within which the lions were let

Hound held in leash (Koyunjik).

[1] See the illustration, vol. i. p. 444.

[2] Such attempts are common both in the earlier and the later sculptures. (See vol. i. pp. 429 and 432.)

[3] As in the slab of Asshur-banipal, from which the representation is taken in vol. i. p. 445.

loose, the large shields of the front or spearman line forming a sort of wall, and the spears a *chevaux de frise*, through which it was almost impossible for the beasts to break. In front of the soldiers attendants held hounds in leashes, which either by their baying and struggling frightened the animals back, or perhaps assisted to despatch them.[4] The king meanwhile plied his bow, and covered the plain with carcases, often striking a single beast with five or six shafts.

The number of lions destroyed at these royal *battues* is very surprising. In one representation[5] no fewer than eighteen are seen upon the field, of which eleven are dead and five seriously wounded. The introduction of trapped beasts would seem to imply that the game, which under the earlier monarchs had been exceedingly abundant,[6] failed comparatively under the later ones, who therefore imported it from a distance. It is evident however that this scarcity was not allowed to curtail the royal amusement. To gratify the monarch, hunters sought remote and savage districts, where the beast was still plentiful, and, trapping their prey, conveyed it many hundreds of miles to yield a momentary pleasure to the royal sportsman.

It is instructive to contrast with the boldness shown in the lion-hunts of this remote period the feelings and conduct of the present inhabitants of the region. The Arabs, by whom it is in the main possessed, are a warlike race, accustomed from infancy to arms and inured to combats. "Their hand is against every

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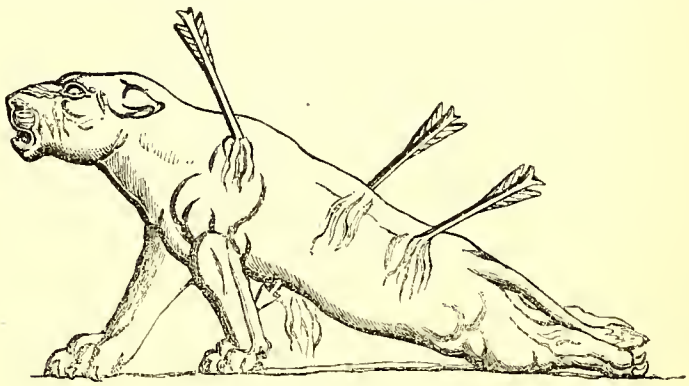
[4] No instance, however, is found of a hound engaged with a lion.

[5] See the Great Lion Hunt of Asshur-bani-pal in the basement room, British Museum.

[6] Tiglath-Pileser I. relates that in his various journeys he killed 800 lions. (*Inscription*, p. 56.)

man, and every man's hand is against them." Yet they tremble if a lion is but known to be near,[7] and can only with the utmost difficulty be persuaded by an European to take any part in the chase of so dangerous an animal.[8]

The lioness, no less than the lion, appears as a beast of chase upon the sculptures. It seems that in modern times she is quite as much feared as her consort. Indeed, when she has laid up cubs, she is even thought to be actually the more dangerous of the two.[9]



Wounded lioness (Koyunjik).

Next to the chase of the lion and lioness, the early Assyrian monarchs delighted in that of the wild bull. It is not quite certain what exact species of animal is sought to be expressed by the representations upon the sculptures; but on the whole it is perhaps most

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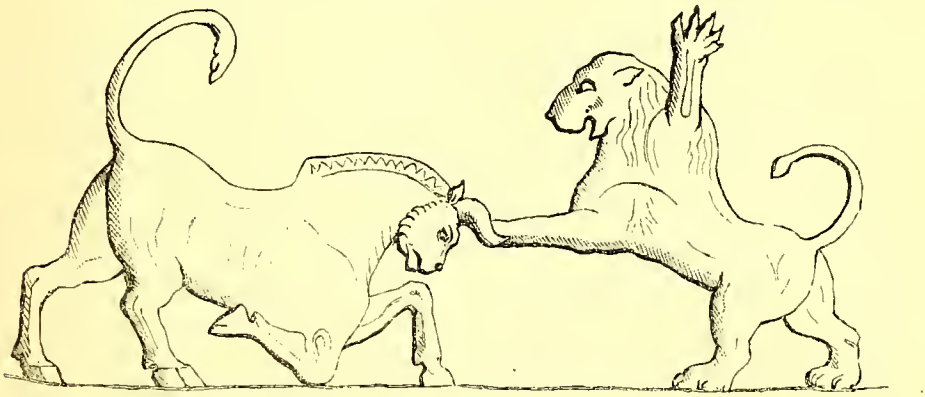
[7] Supra, vol. i. p. 49; compare Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, pp. 243, 244, &c.

[8] Loftus, p. 261. Mr. Layard, however, relates that the Maidan Arabs have a plan on the strength of which they venture to attack lions, even singly. "A man, having bound his right arm with strips of tamarisk, and holding in his hand a strong piece of the same wood, about a foot or more in length, hardened in the fire and sharpened at both ends, will advance boldly into the animal's lair. When the lion springs upon him, he forces the wood into the animal's extended jaws, which will then be held open whilst he can despatch the astonished beast at his leisure with the pistol which he holds in his left hand." (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 567.)

[9] Loftus, pp. 259-262.

probable that the aurochs or European bison (*Bos urus* of naturalists) is the beast intended.[10] At any rate it was an animal of such strength and courage, that, according to the Assyrian belief, it ventured to contend with the lion. The Assyrian monarchs chased



Fight of lion and bull (Nimrud).

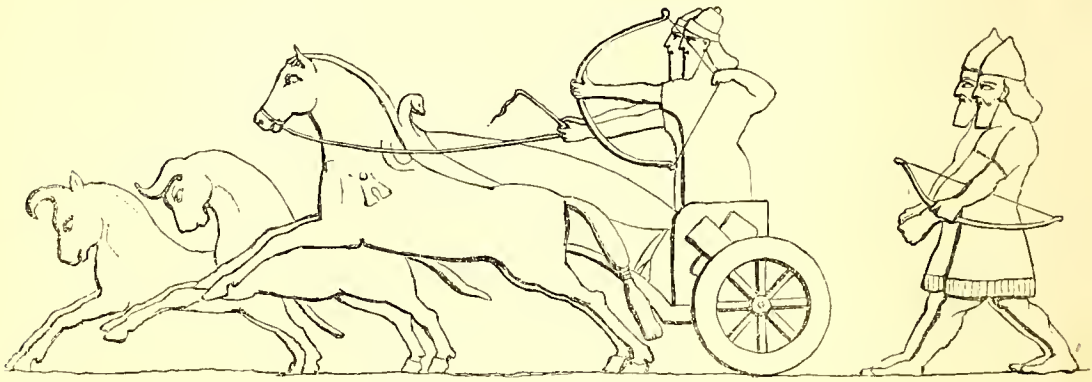
the wild bull in their chariots without dogs, but with the assistance of horsemen, who turned the animals when they fled, and brought them within the monarch's reach.[11] The king then aimed his arrows at them, and the horsemen, who were provided with bows, seem to have been permitted to do the same. The bull seldom fell until he had received a number of wounds; and we sometimes see as many as five arrows still fixed in the body of one that has succumbed.[12] It would seem that the bull, when pushed,

[10] The aurochs is still found in the Caucasus. Its fore-parts are covered by a sort of frizzled wool or hair, which "forms a beard or small mane upon the throat." (*Encycl. Brit.* ad voc. Mammalia, vol. xiv. p. 215.) Such a mane is often represented upon the sculptures. (Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 32, 46, &c.) Its horns are placed low, and are very thick. Its shoulders are heavy and of great depth. In height it measures six feet at the shoulder, and is between ten and eleven feet in length from the nose to the insertion of the tail. All these characteristics seem to me to agree well with the sculptured bulls of the Assyrians, which are far less like the wild buffalo (*Bos bubalus*).

[11] See Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 48, fig. 6.

[12] Ibid. Pl. 11.

would, like the lion, make a rush at the king's chariot, in which case the monarch seized him by one of the horns and gave him the *coup de grace* with his sword.



King hunting the wild bull (Nimrud).

The special zest with which this animal was pursued[1] may have arisen in part from its scarcity. The aurochs is wild and shy; it dislikes the neighbourhood of man, and has retired before him till it is now only found in the forests of Lithuania, Carpathia, and the Caucasus. It seems nearly certain that, in the time of the later kings, the species of wild cattle previously hunted, whatever it was, had disappeared from Assyria altogether; at least this is the only probable account that can be given of its non-occurrence in the later sculptures, more especially in those of Asshur-bani-pal, the son of Esar-haddon, which seem intended to represent the chase under every aspect known at the time. We might therefore

[1] The pursuit of the wild bull is represented with more frequency and in greater detail upon the early sculptures than even that of the lion. In the Nimrud series we see the bull pursued by chariots, horsemen, and footmen, both separately and together. We observe him prancing among reeds, reposing, fighting with the lion, charging the king's chariot, wounded and falling, fallen, and lastly laid out in state for the final religious ceremony. No such elaborate series illustrates the chase of the rival animal. (See Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 11, 12, 32, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, and 49.)

presume it to have been, even in the early period, already a somewhat rare animal. And so we find in the Inscriptions that the animal, or animals, which appear to represent wild cattle,[2] were only met with in outlying districts of the empire,—on the borders of Syria and in the country about Harran—and then in such small numbers[3] as to imply that even there they were not very abundant.

When the chase of the nobler animals—the lion and the wild bull—had been conducted to a successful issue, the hunters returned in a grand procession to the capital, carrying with them as trophies of their prowess the bodies of the slain. These were borne aloft on the shoulders of men, three or four being required to carry each beast. Having been brought to an appointed spot, they were arranged side by side upon the ground, the heads all pointing the same way; and the monarch, attended by several of his principal officers, as the Vizier, the Chief Eunuch, the fan-bearers, the bow and mace-bearers, and also

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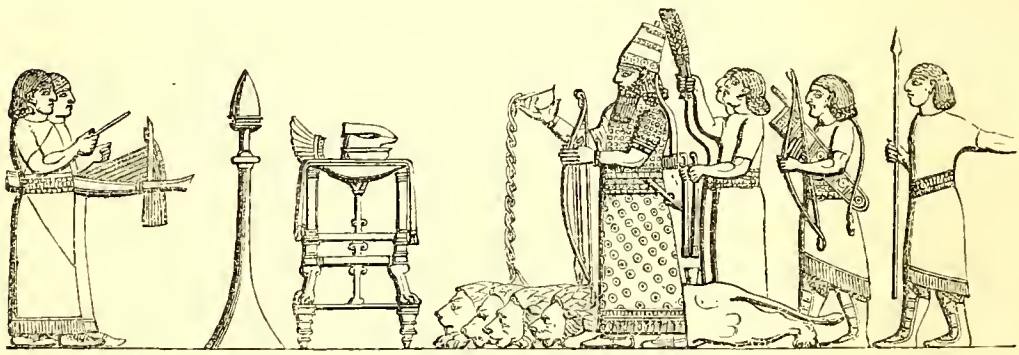
[2] There are two animals mentioned in the Tiglath-Pileser Inscription which have been thought to represent wild cattle. These are hunted respectively in the Hittite country, i. e. Northern Syria, and in the neighbourhood of Harran. (*Inscription*, pp. 54 and 56, 1st column.) Sir H. Rawlinson translates, in the two places, "wild bulls" and "wild buffaloes." Dr. Hincks agrees in the former rendering, while in the latter passage he suggests "elephants." But elephants seem not to be able to exist in the wild state more than a very few degrees outside the tropics.

The Assyrian word in the first of the two passages is read as "Rim," and the animal should therefore be identical with the רְאֵם or רֵים of Holy Scripture. Although the Arabs give the name of *Raim* to a large antelope, and a similar use of that term seems to have been known in Egypt (Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 429), yet the Hebrew term "Rim" appears, from a comparison of the passages in which it occurs, almost certainly to mean an animal of the ox kind. (See especially Is. xxxiv. 17, where it is joined with the domestic bull, and Job xxxix. 9-12, where the questions derive their force from an implied comparison with that animal.)

[3] Four "Rims" only are mentioned as slain. Of the other animal ten were slain and four taken. Of lions on the same expedition Tiglath-Pileser slew a hundred and twenty.

by a number of musicians, came to the place, and solemnly poured a libation over the prostrate forms, first however (as it would seem) raising the cup to his own lips.[4] It is probable that this ceremony had to some extent a religious character. The Assyrian monarchs commonly ascribe the success of their hunting expeditions to the gods Nin (or Ninip) and Nergal;[5] and we may well understand that a triumphant return would be accompanied by a thank-offering to the great protectors under whose auspices success had been achieved.



King pouring libation over four dead lions (Koyunjik).

Besides the wild bull and the lion, the Assyrians are known to have hunted the following animals—the onager or wild ass, the stag, the ibex or wild goat, the gazelle, and the hare.

The chase of the wild ass was conducted in various ways. The animal was most commonly pursued with dogs. The large and powerful hounds of the Assyrians, of which a certain use was made even in the chase of the lion,[6] have been already noticed; but it may be desirable in this place to give a fuller account

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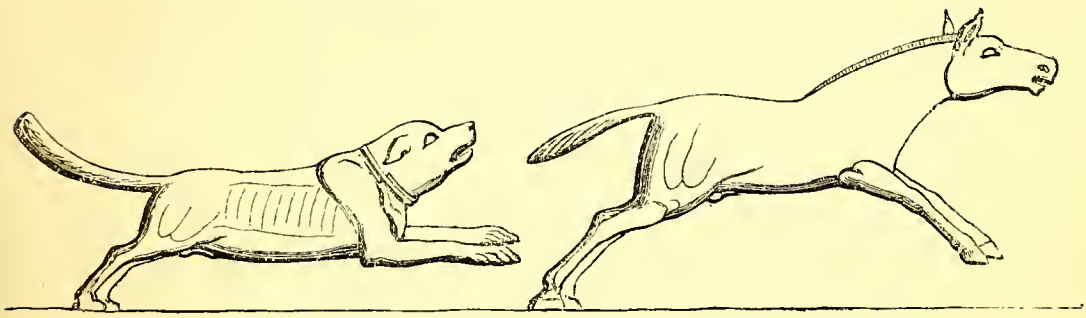
[4] This appears from the sculpture represented by Mr. Layard in his *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 12, where the ceremony is performed over a bull.

[5] See above, vol. i. pp. 167 and 172.

[6] Supra, pp. 125 and 128.

of them. They were of a type approaching to that of our mastiff, being smooth haired, strong limbed, with a somewhat heavy head and neck, small pointed but drooping ears,[7] and a long tail which was bushy and a little inclined to curl. They seem to have been very broad across the chest, and altogether better developed as to their fore than as to their hind parts, though even their hind legs were tolerably strong and sinewy. They must have been exceedingly bold, if they really faced the hunted lion; and their pace must have been considerable, if they were found of service in chasing the wild ass.

The hunters are represented as finding the wild asses in herds, among which are seen a certain number of foals. The king and his chief attendants pursue the game on horseback, armed with bows and arrows, and discharging their arrows as they go.



Hound chasing a wild ass colt (Koyunjik).

Hounds also—not now held in leash, but free—join in the hunt, pressing on the game, and generally singling out some one individual from the herd, either a young colt or sometimes a full-grown animal. The horsemen, occasionally, brought down the asses with their shafts; when their archery failed of suc-

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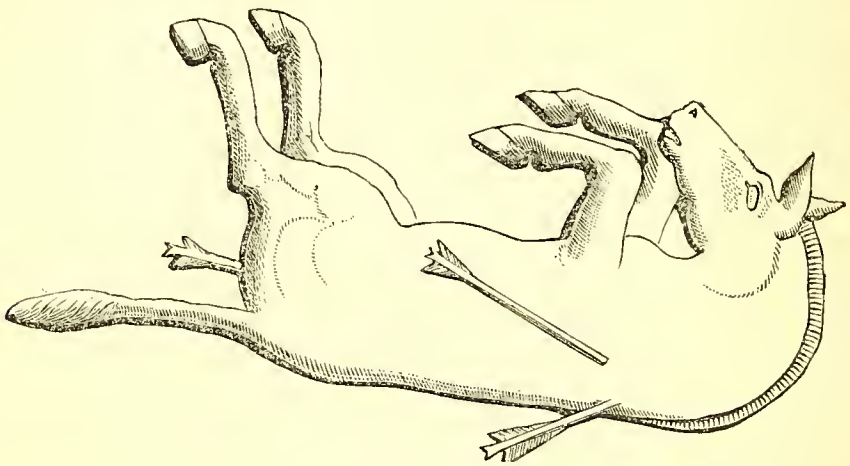
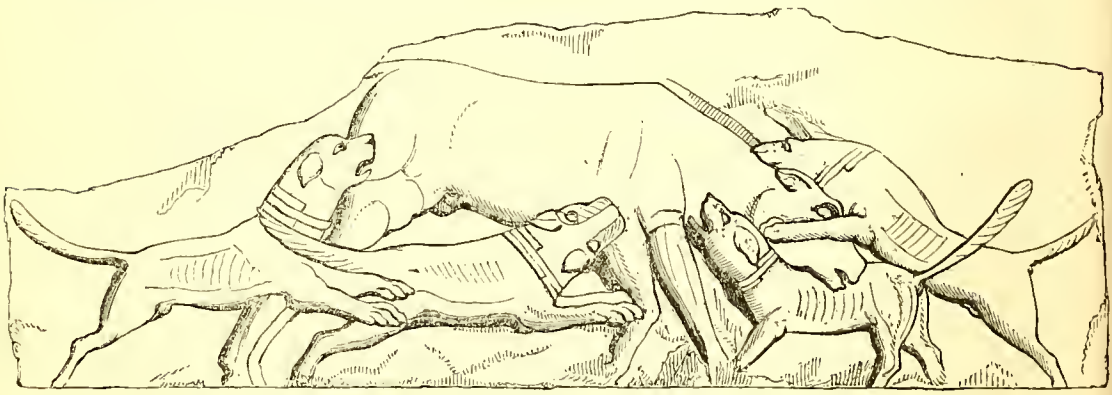
[7] The ear is commonly represented as drooping, but some specimens indicate that it could be erected at pleasure. (See vol. i. p. 293, No. I.)

cess, the chase depended on the hounds, which are represented as running even the full-grown animal to a stand, and then worrying him till the hunters



Dead wild ass (Koyunjik).

came up to give the last blow. Considering the speed of the full-grown wild ass, which is now regarded as almost impossible to take,[8] we may perhaps



Hounds pulling down a wild ass (Koyunjik).

conclude that the animals thus run down by the hounds were such as the hunters had previously wounded ;[9] for it can scarcely be supposed that such heavily-made

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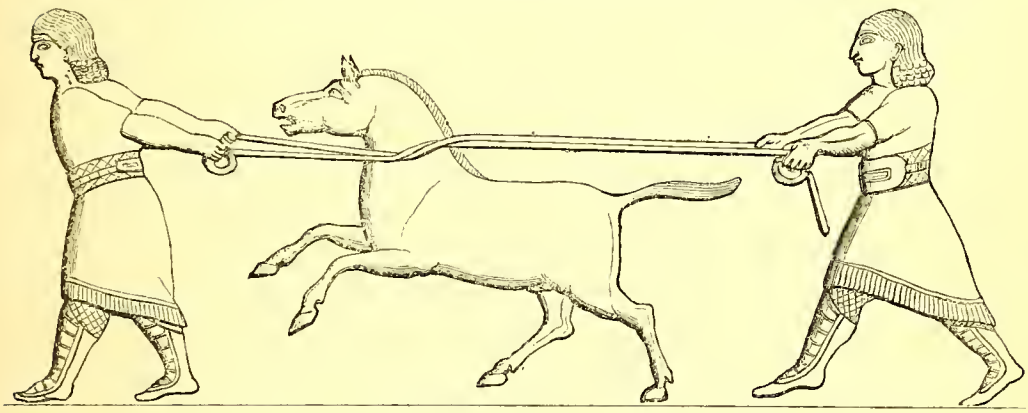
[8] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 270, note.

[9] Yet it must be confessed that in the representation no trace of a wound is to be seen.

dogs as the Assyrian could really have caught an unwounded and full-grown wild ass.

Instead of shooting the wild ass, or hunting him to the death with hounds, an endeavour was sometimes made to take him alive. A species of noose seems to have been made by means of two ropes interlaced, which were passed—how, we cannot say—round the neck of the animal, and held him in such a way that all his struggles to release himself were vain. This mode of capture recalls the use of the



Wild ass taken with a rope (Koyunjik).

lasso by the South Americans, and the employment of nooses by various nations, not merely in hunting, but in warfare.[1] It is doubtful, however, if the Assyrian practice approached at all closely to any of these. The noose, if it may be so called, was of a very peculiar kind. It was not formed by means of a slip-knot at the end of a single cord, but resulted from the interlacing of two ropes one with the other. There is great difficulty in understanding how the ropes were got into their position. Certainly no single throw could have placed them round the neck

[1] See Herod. vii. 85, and the author's note ad loc. vol. iv. p. 75. Compare Pausan. i. 21, § 8; Suidas ad voc. σειρά, and Sir G. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 15.

of the animal in the manner represented, nor could the capture have been effected, according to all appearance, by a single hunter. Two persons at least must have been required to combine their efforts, one before and one behind the creature which it was designed to capture.

Deer, which have always abounded in Assyria,[2] were either hunted with dogs or driven by beaters into nets, or sometimes shot with arrows by sportsmen. The woodcut on this page represents

Hound chasing a doe (Koyunjik).

a dog in chase of a hind, and shows that the hounds which the Assyrians used for this purpose were of the same breed as those employed in the hunt of the lion and of the wild ass.[3] In the woodcut on the next page we see a stricken stag, which may perhaps have been also hard pressed by hounds, in the act of leaping from rocky ground into water. It is

[2] See above, vol. i. p. 282; and compare Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 431.

[3] Supra, pp. 128, 135, and 136.

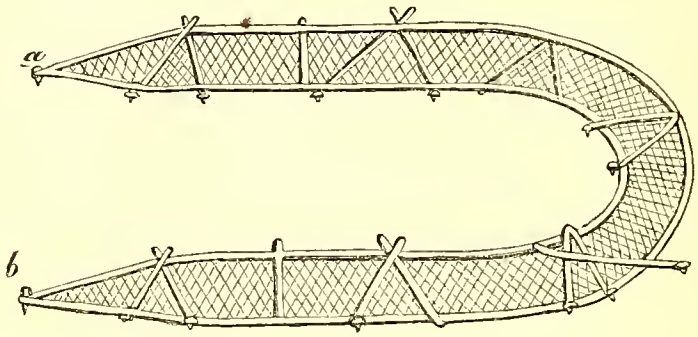
Hunted stag taking the water (Koyunjik).

interesting to find this habit of the stag, with which the modern English sportsman is so familiar, not merely existing in Assyria, but noticed by Assyrian sculptors, at the distance of more than twenty-five centuries from our own time.

When deer were to be taken by nets, the sportsman began by setting in an upright position, with the help of numerous poles and pegs, a long low net, like the δίκτυον of the Greeks.[4] This was carried round in a curved line of considerable length,

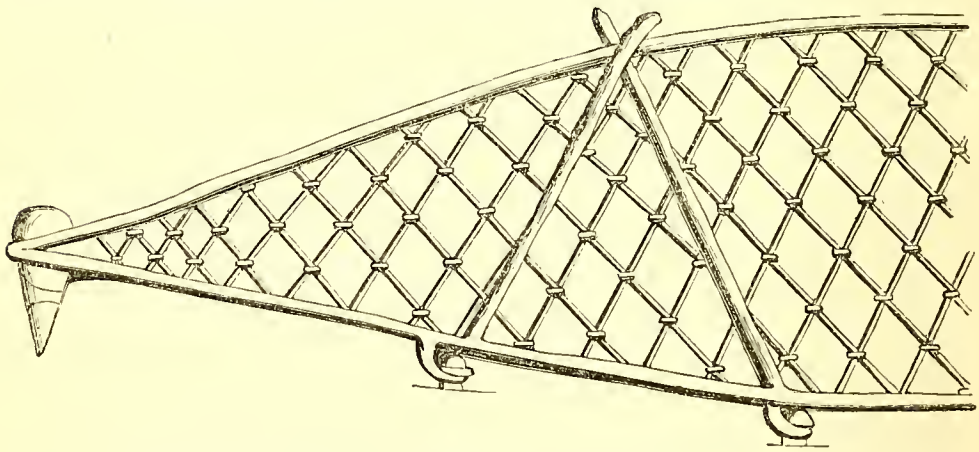
[4] For representations of the δίκτυον see Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 989, 2nd ed.; and for descriptions of its use cf. Virg. *Æn.* iv. 121; Eurip. *Bacch.* 821-832; Ælian. *Hist. An.* xii. 46; Oppian. *Cyneget.* iv. 120, &c. Nets of a similar construction were used for the same purpose by the Egyptians. (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 1st Series, vol. iii. pp. 4-7.)

so as to enclose an ample space on every side excepting one, which was left open for the deer to enter. The meshes of the net were large and not



No. I. Net spread to take deer (Koyunjik).

very regular. They were carefully secured by knots at all the angles. The net was bordered both at top and at bottom by a rope of much greater strength and thickness than that which formed the network; and this was fastened to the ground at the two extremities by pegs of superior size. The general height of

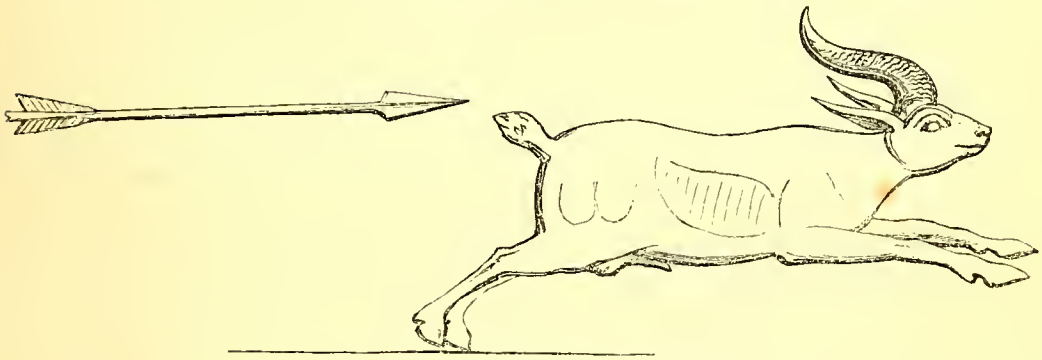


No. II. Portion of net, showing the arrangement of the meshes and the pegs (Koyunjik).

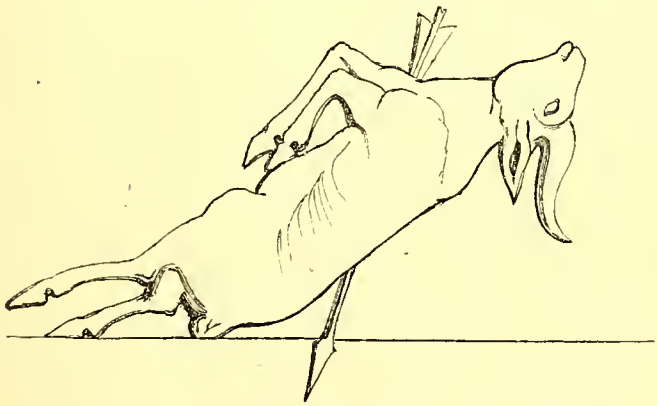
the net was about that of a man, but the two ends were sloped gently to the ground. Beaters, probably accompanied by dogs, roused the game in the coverts, which was then driven with shouts and barkings towards the place where the net was set. If it once entered within the two extremities of the net (*a b* in

woodcut No. I.), its destruction was certain; for the beaters, following on its traces, occupied the space by which it had entered, and the net itself was not sufficiently visible for the deer to rise at it and clear it by a leap.

In the chase of the ibex or wild goat, horsemen were employed to discover the animals, which were generally found in herds, and to drive them towards



No. I. Hunted ibex flying at full speed.



No. II. Ibex transfixed with arrow—falling.

the sportsman, who waited in ambush until the game appeared within bowshot.[5] An arrow was then let fly at the nearest or the choicest animal, which often

[5] On the slab from which the ibexes represented above are taken, the king and an attendant are seen crouching as the herd approaches, in such a way as to make it evident that the intention was to represent them as lying in ambush.

fell at the first discharge. The sport was tame compared with many other kinds, and was probably not much affected by the higher orders.

The chase of the gazelle is not shown on the sculptures. In modern times they are taken by the greyhound and the falcon, separately or in conjunction, the two being often trained to hunt together.[1] They are somewhat difficult to run down with dogs only, except immediately after they have drunk water in hot weather.[2] That the Assyrians sometimes captured them appears by a hunting-scene which Mr. Layard discovered at Khorsabad, where an attendant is represented carrying a gazelle on his shoulders and holding a hare in his right hand.[3] As gazelles are very abundant both in the Sinjar country and in the district between the Tigris and the Zagros range,[4] we may suppose that the Assyrians sometimes came upon them unawares and transfixed them with their arrows before they could make their escape. They may also have taken them in nets, as they were accustomed to take deer;[5] but we have no evidence that they did so.

Sportsman carrying a gazelle (Khorsabad).

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[1] See Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 481-483.

[2] Ibid. p. 482, note.

[3] *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd Series, Pl. 32. The slab itself is in the British Museum.

[4] *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 130, 268, &c.

[5] Supra, p. 140.

The hare is seen very commonly in the hands of those who attend upon the huntsmen.[6] It is always represented as very small in proportion to the size of the men, whence we may perhaps conclude that the full-grown animal was less esteemed than the leveret. As the huntsmen in these representations have neither nets nor dogs, but seem to obtain their game solely by the bow, we must presume that they were expert enough to strike the hare as it ran.

There is no difficulty in making such a supposition as this, since the Assyrians have left us an evidence of their skill as marksmen, which implies even greater dexterity. The game which they principally sought in the districts where they occasionally killed the hare and the gazelle seems to have been the partridge; and this game they had to bring down when upon the wing. We see the sportsmen in the sculptures aiming their arrows at the birds as they mount into the air; and in one instance we observe one of the birds in the act of falling to the ground, transfixed by a well-aimed shaft.[7] Such skill is not uncommon among savage hunting tribes, whose existence depends on the dexterity with which they employ their weapons; but it is rarely that a people which has passed out of this stage,

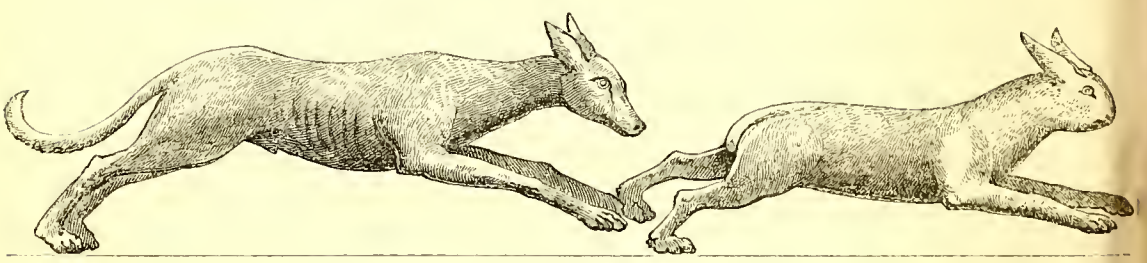
Sportsman shooting (Khorsabad).

[6] Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, vol. ii. Pls. 108, 110, and 111; Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 32. The hare is always carried by the hind legs, exactly as we carry it. See the representation in vol. i. of this work, p. 284.

[7] Botta, Pl. 111. This bird has been already figured. (See vol. i. p. 287.)

and hunts for sport rather than subsistence, retains its old expertness.

Hunting the hare with dogs was probably not very common, as it is only in a single instance that the Assyrian remains exhibit a trace of it. On one of the bronze dishes discovered by Mr. Layard at Nimrud may be seen[8] a series of alternate dogs and hares, which shows that coursing was not unknown to the Assyrians. The dog is of a kind not seen elsewhere in the remains of Assyrian art. The head bears a resemblance to that of the wolf; but the form generally is that of a coarse greyhound, the legs and neck long, the body slim, and the tail curled at the end; offering thus a strong contrast to the ordinary Assyrian hound, which has been already represented more than once.[9]

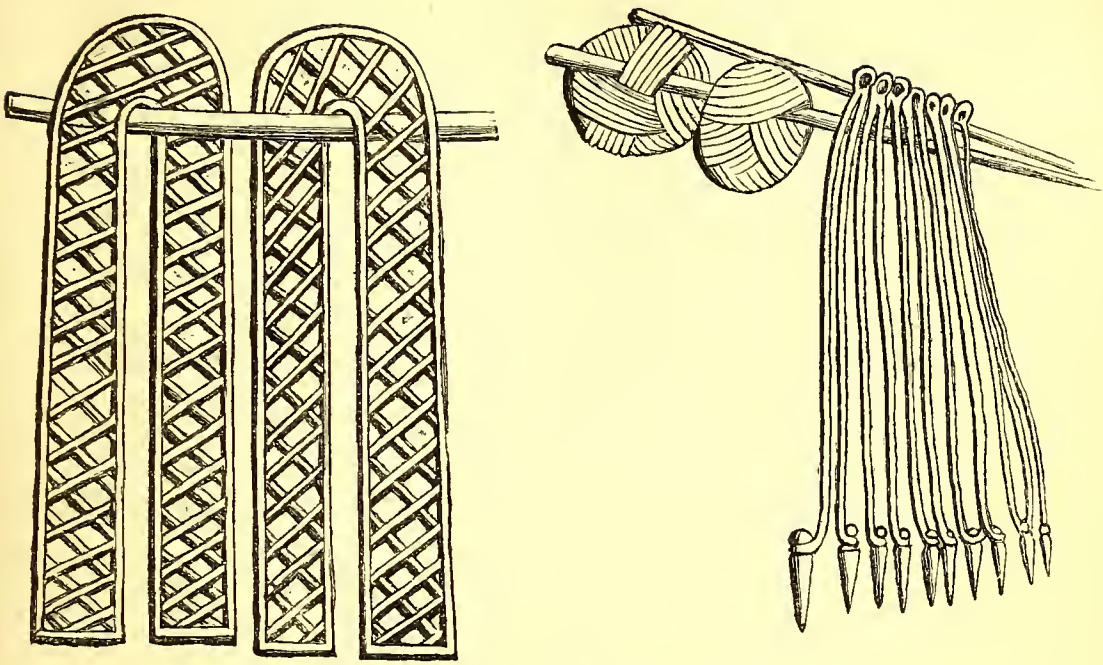


Greyhound and hare, from a bronze bowl (Nimrud).

Nets may sometimes have been employed for the capture of small game, such as hares and rabbits, since we occasionally see beaters or other attendants carrying upon poles, which they hold over their shoulders, nets of dimensions far too small for them to have been used in the deer-hunts, with balls of string and pegs wherewith to extend them. The nets in this

[8] The dish is in the British Museum. A representation of it is given by Mr. Layard in his *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 64.

[9] Supra, pp. 128, 135, 136, and 138.



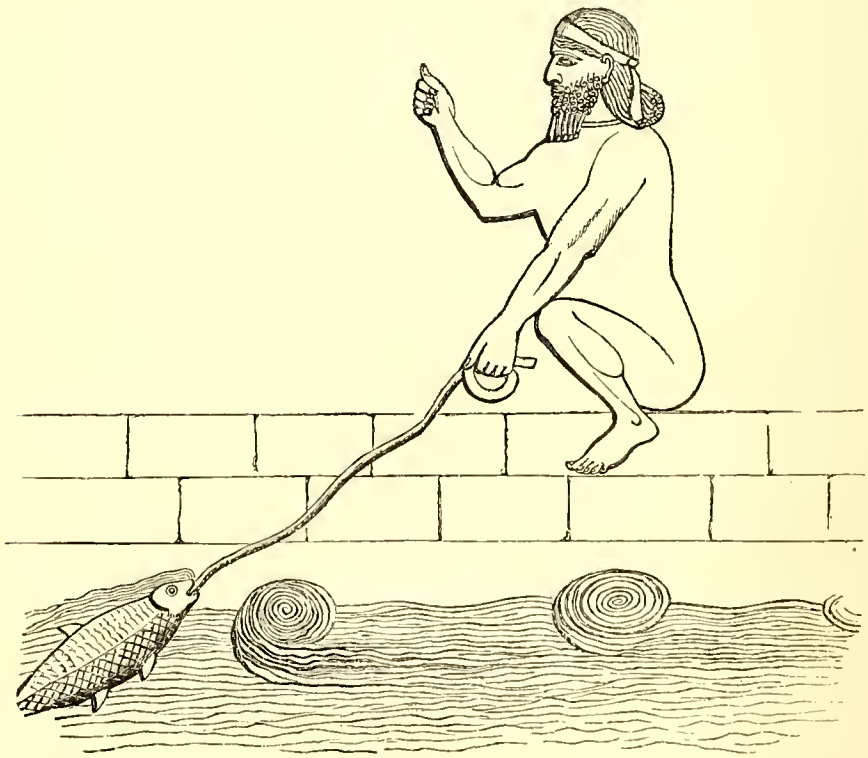
Nets, pegs, and balls of string (Koyunjik).

case are squared at the ends, and seem to have been about eight or nine feet long, and less than a foot in height. They have large meshes, and, like the deer-nets, are bordered both at top and bottom with a strong cord, to which the net-work is attached. Like the classical ἐνόδια, they were probably placed across the runs of the animals, which, being baffled by them and turned from their accustomed tracks, would grow bewildered and fall an easy prey to the hunters. Or, possibly, several of them may have been joined together, and a considerable space may then have been enclosed, within which the game may have been driven by the beaters.

The chase of these three weak and timid animals, the gazelle, the hare, and the partridge, was not regarded as worthy of the monarch. When the king is represented as present, he takes no part in it, but merely drives in his chariot through the woods where

the sportsmen are amusing themselves.[1] Persons, however, of a good position, as appears from their dress and the number of their attendants, indulged in the sport, more especially eunuchs, who were probably those of the royal household. It is not unlikely that the special object was to supply the royal table with game.[2]

The Assyrians do not seem to have had much skill as fishermen. They were unacquainted with the rod, and fished by means of a simple line thrown into the water, one end of which was held in the hand. No



No. I. Man fishing (Nimrud).

[1] Botta, Pls. 108 to 114. These sculptures were all in one room, and form a series from which two slabs only are missing.

[2] Hares and partridges were among the delicacies with which Sennacherib's servants were in the habit of furnishing his table, as we may gather from the procession of attendants represented at Koyunjik in the inclined passage. (See Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 9, and compare *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 338.)

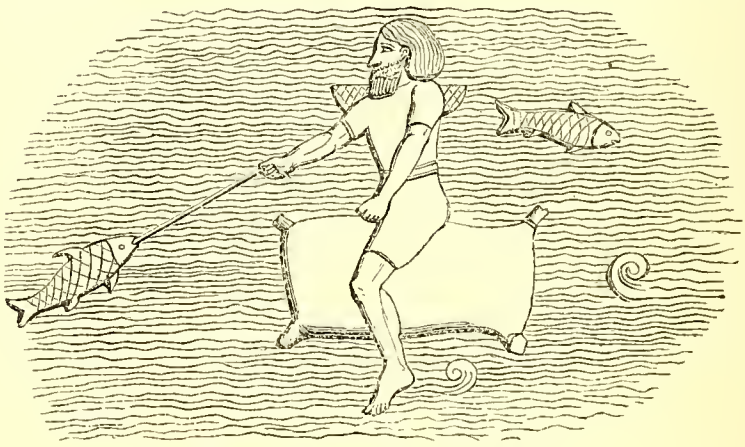
float was used, and the bait must consequently have sunk to the bottom, unless prevented from so doing by the force of the stream. This method of fishing was likewise known and practised in Egypt,[3] where, however, it was far more common to angle with a rod.[4] Though Assyrian fish-hooks have not been found, there can be no doubt that that invention was one with which they were acquainted, as were both the Egyptians[5] and the early Chaldæans.[6]

Fishing was carried on both in rivers and in stews or ponds. The angler sometimes stood or squatted upon the bank; at other times, not content with

No. II. Man fishing (Koyunjik).

[3] Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 53, Pl. 342.
[4] Ibid. pp. 52-54.
[5] Ibid. p. 54.
[6] See above, vol. i. p. 125.

commanding the mere edge of the water, he plunged in, and is seen mid-stream, astride upon an inflated skin, quietly pursuing his avocation. Occasionally he improved his position by mounting upon a raft, and, seated at the stern, with his back to the rower, threw out his line and drew the fish from the water.[7]



Man fishing, seated on skin (Koyunjik).

Now and then the fisherman was provided with a plaited basket, made of rushes or flags, which was fastened round his neck with a string and hung at his back, ready to receive the produce of his exertions.

It does not appear that angling was practised by the Assyrians in the way that the monuments show it to have been practised in Egypt, as an amusement of the rich.[8] The fishermen are always poorly clothed, and seem to have belonged to the class which worked for its living. It is remarkable that we do not anywhere in the sculptures see nets used for fishing; but perhaps we ought not to conclude from

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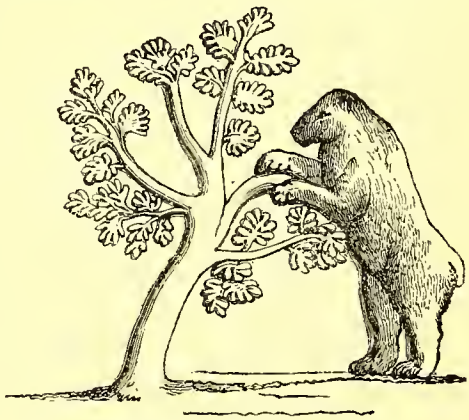
[7] See the Woodcut in Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 231.

[8] Wilkinson, p. 52, Pl. 341. Compare his remarks, pp. 53 and 54.

this that they were never so employed in Assyria.[9] The Assyrian sculptors represented only occasionally the scenes of common everyday life; and we are seldom justified in drawing a negative conclusion as to the peaceful habits of the people on any point from the mere fact that the bas-reliefs contain no positive evidence on the subject.

A few other animals were probably, but not certainly, chased by the Assyrians, as especially the ostrich and the bear. The gigantic bird, which remained in Mesopotamia as late as the time of Xenophon,[10] was well known to the Assyrian artists, who could scarcely have represented it with so much success,[1] unless its habits had been observed and described by hunters.[2] The bear is much less frequent upon the remains than the ostrich; but its occurrence and the truthfulness of its delineation where it occurs, indicate a familiarity which may no doubt be due to other causes, but is probably traceable to the intimate knowledge acquired by those who hunted it.



Bear standing, from a bronze bowl (Nimrud).

Of the other amusements and occupations of the Assyrians our knowledge is comparatively scanty;

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[9] The use of nets for fishing seems to have been a very early invention. Sophocles joins it with ship-building, ploughing, trap-making, and horse-breaking. (*Antig.* 347.) Solomon certainly knew of the practice (Eccl. ix. 12), as did Homer (*Odyss.* xxii. 384-386). It was of great antiquity in Egypt.

[10] Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, § 2.

[1] See the Woodcuts in vol. i. p. 286.

[2] The chase of the ostrich seems to be mentioned in the inscriptions of Asshur-idanni-pal. See below, ch. ix.

but some pages may be here devoted to their music, their navigation, their commerce, and their agriculture. On the first and second of these a good deal of light is thrown by the monuments, while some interesting facts with respect to the third and fourth may be gathered both from this source and also from ancient writers.

That the Babylonians, the neighbours of the Assyrians, and, in a certain sense, the inheritors of their empire, had a passion for music, and delighted in a great variety of musical instruments, has long been known and admitted. The repeated mention by Daniel, in his third chapter, of the "cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music"[3]—or, at any rate, of a number of instruments for which those terms were once thought the best English equivalents—has familiarised us with the fact, that in Babylonia, as early as the sixth century B.C., musical instruments of many different kinds were in use. It is also apparent from the Book of Psalms, that a variety of instruments were employed by the Jews.[4] And we know that in Egypt as many as thirteen or fourteen different kinds were common.[5] In Assyria, if there was not so much variety as this, there were at any rate eight or nine quite different sorts, some stringed, some wind, some merely instruments of percussion. In the early sculptures, indeed, only two or three musical instruments are represented. One is a kind of harp, held

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[3] Verses 5, 7, 10, and 15.

[4] See especially Ps. cl., where the trumpet, psaltery, harp, timbrel, pipe (?), organ (?), and cymbal are all mentioned together. Compare Ps. xxxiii. 2; xcii. 3; xcviii. 5, 6, &c.

[5] Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 1st Series, vol. ii. pp. 253-327. The instruments enumerated are the *darabooka* drum, cymbals, cylindrical maces, the trumpet, the long drum, the harp, the lyre, the guitar, the flute, the single and double pipe, the tambourine, and the sistrum.

between the left arm and the side, and played with one hand by means of a quill or *plectrum*. Another is a lyre, played by the hand; while a third is apparently a cymbal. But in the later times we see—besides these instruments—a harp of a different make played with both hands, two or three kinds of lyre, the double pipe, the guitar or cithern, the tambourine, a nameless instrument, and more than one kind of drum.

The harp of the early ages was a triangular instrument, consisting of a horizontal board which seems to have been about three feet in length, an upright bar inserted into one end of the board, commonly surmounted by an imitation of the human hand, and a number of strings which crossed diagonally from the board to the bar, and, passing through the latter, hung down some way, terminating in tassels of no great size. The strings were eight, nine, or ten in number, and (apparently) were made fast to the board, but could be tightened or relaxed by means of a row of pegs inserted into the upright bar, round which the strings

Ancient Assyrian harp and harper (Nimrud).

were probably wound. No difference is apparent in the thickness of the strings; and it would seem therefore that variety of tone was produced solely by difference of length. It is thought that this instrument must have been suspended round the player's neck.[6] It was carried at the left side, and was played (as already observed) with a quill or *plectrum* held in the right hand, while the left hand seems to have been employed in pressing the strings so as to modify the tone, or stop the vibrations of the notes. The performers on this kind of harp, and indeed all other Assyrian musicians, are universally represented as standing while they play.

The harp of later times was constructed, held, and played differently. It was still triangular,[7] or nearly so; but the frame now consisted of a rounded and evidently hollow[1] sounding-board, to which the strings were attached with the help of pegs, and a plain bar whereto they were made fast below, and from which their ends depended like a fringe. The number of strings was greater than in the earlier harp, being sometimes thirteen or fourteen. The instrument was carried in such a way that the strings were perpendicular and the bar horizontal, while the sounding-board projected forwards at an angle above the player's head. It was played by the naked hand without a *plectrum*; and both hands

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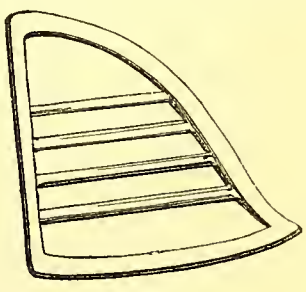
[6] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 412. The conjecture is probable, though no means of suspension are seen on the sculptures.

[7] The Egyptians had a triangular harp (Wilkinson, p. 280), which is not unlike the Assyrian. And St. Jerome says that the Hebrew harp (כִּנּוֹר) resembled the Greek *delta*, which is an argument that it also was of this shape.

[1] The board is commonly pierced with two or more holes, like the sounding-board of a guitar.

Later Assyrian harps and harpers (Koyunjik).

seem to have found their employment in pulling the strings.

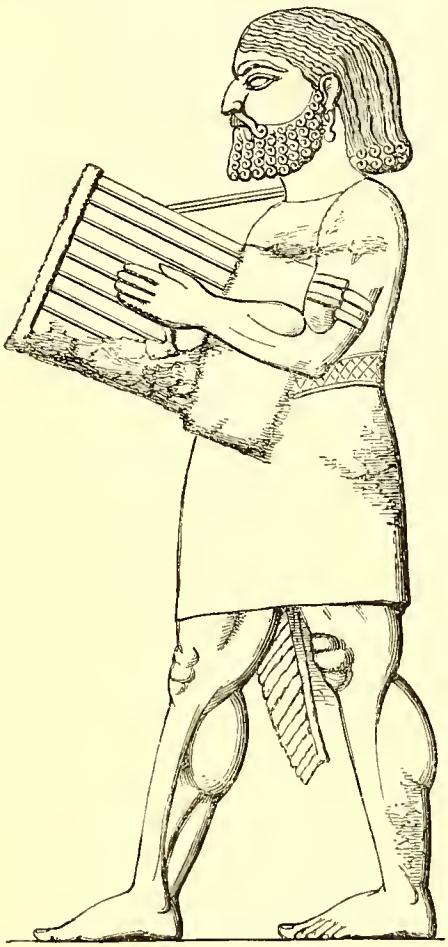


Triangular lyre (Koyunjik).

Three varieties of the lyre are seen in the Assyrian sculptures. One of them is triangular, or nearly so, and has only four strings, which, being carried from one side of the triangle to the other, parallel to the base, are necessarily of very unequal length. Its frame is apparently of wood,

very simple, and entirely devoid of ornament. This sort of lyre has been found only in the latest sculptures.[2]

Another variety nearly resembles in its general shape the lyre of the Egyptians.[3] It has a large square bottom or sounding-board,[4] which is held, like the Egyptian, under the left elbow, two straight arms only slightly diverging, and a plain cross-bar at top. The number of strings visible in the least imperfect representation is eight; but, judging by the width of the instrument, we may fairly assume that the full complement was nine or ten. The strings run from the cross-bar to the sounding-board, and must have been of a uniform length. This lyre was played by both hands, and for greater security was attached by a band passing round the player's neck.



Lyre with ten strings (Khorsabad).

The third sort of lyre was larger than either of the

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[2] The above representation is from a slab discovered by Mr. Loftus in the palace of Asshur-bani-pal, the son of Esar-haddon. It is the only instance of a triangular lyre in the sculptures, unless the lyres of the so-called *Jewish* captives in the British Museum are intended to be triangular, which is uncertain. See below, p. 164.

[3] Wilkinson, vol. ii. p. 291, Woodcut No. 217.

[4] In some of the classical lyres the two arms were joined at the base, and there was no tortoise or other sounding-board below them. (Bianchini, *De trib. gen. instrument.* Tab. iv.)

others, and considerably more elaborate. It had probably a sounding-board at bottom, like the lyre just described, though this, being carried under the left elbow, is concealed in the representations. Hence there branched out two curved arms, more or less ornamented, which were of very unequal length; and these were joined together by a cross-bar, also curved, and projecting considerably beyond the end of the longer of the two arms. Owing to the inequality of the arms, the cross-bar sloped at an angle to the base, and the strings, which passed from the one to the other, consequently differed in length. The number of the strings in this lyre seems to have been either five or seven.

Lyres, with five and seven strings (Koyunjik).

The Assyrian guitar is remarkable for the small size of the hollow body or sounding-board, and the great proportionate length of the

neck or handle. There is nothing to show what was the number of the strings, nor whether they were stretched by pegs and elevated by means of a bridge. Both hands seem to be employed in playing the instrument, which is held across the chest in a sloping direction, and was probably kept in place by a riband or strap passed round the back.[5]

Guitar or tamboura (Koyunjik).

It is curious that in the Assyrian remains, while the double pipe is common, we find no instance at all either of the flute or of the single pipe. All these were employed in Egypt, and occur on the monuments of that country frequently;[6] and though among the Greeks and Romans the double pipe was more common than the single one, yet the single pipe was well known, and its employment was not unusual. The Greeks regarded the pipe as altogether Asiatic, and ascribed its invention to Marsyas the Phrygian,[7] or to Olympus, his disciple.[8] We may conclude from this that they at any rate learnt the

[5] Such a strap is occasionally seen in the Egyptian representations. (Wilkinson, p. 302, Woodcut No. 223.)

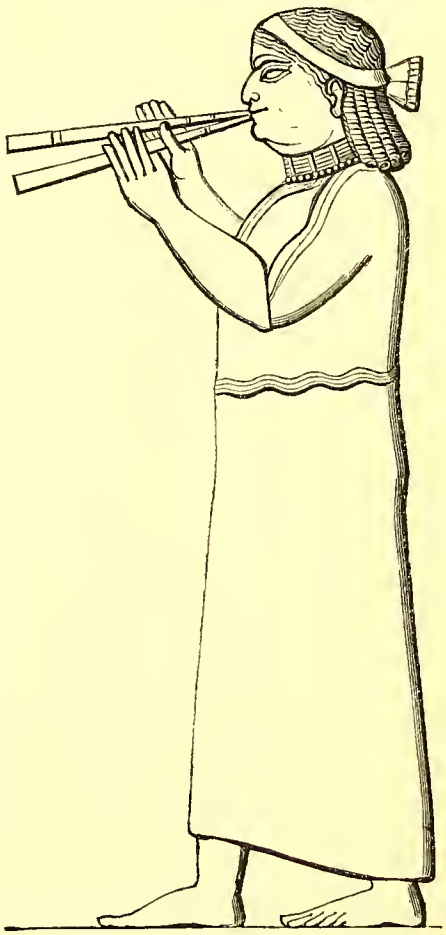
[6] Wilkinson, pp. 307-312; and compare pp. 232-237.

[7] Athen. *Deipnosoph.* iv. 25.

[8] Plutarch. *De Musica*, p. 1135, F.

invention from Asia; and in their decided preference of the double over the single pipe we may not improbably have a trace of the influence which Assyria exercised over Asiatic, and thus even over Greek music.

The Assyrian double pipe was short, probably not exceeding ten or twelve inches in length.[9] It is uncertain whether it was really a single instrument consisting of two tubes united by a common mouthpiece, or whether it was not composed of two quite separate pipes, as was the case with the double pipes of the Greeks and Romans.



Player on the double pipe (Koyunjik).

The two pipes constituting a pair seem in Assyria to have been always of the same length, not, like the Roman "right" and "left pipes," of unequal length, and so of different pitches.[10] They were held and played, like the classical, one with either hand of the performer. There can be little doubt that they were in reality quite straight, though sometimes they have been awkwardly represented as crooked by the artist.

[9] The Egyptian pipes seem to have varied from seven to fifteen or eighteen inches. (Wilkinson, p. 308.) The classical were probably even longer. In Phœnicia a very short pipe was used, which was called *gingrus*. (Athen. *Deipn.* iv. p. 174, F.)

[10] See Pliny, *H. N.* xvi. 36.

The tambourine of the Assyrians was round, like that in common use at the present day, not square, like the ordinary Egyptian.[11] It seems to have consisted simply of a skin stretched on a circular frame, and to have been destitute altogether of the metal rings or balls which produce the jingling sound of

Tambourine player, and other musicians (Koyunjik).

the modern instrument. It was held at bottom by the left hand in a perpendicular position, and was struck at the side with the fingers of the right.

Assyrian cymbals closely resembled those in common use throughout the East at the present day.[12]

[11] Wilkinson, pp. 235, 240, and 329.

[12] They are probably identical with the "high-sounding cymbals" (צִלְצְלֵי תְרוּעָה) of Scripture. The "loud cymbals" (צִלְצְלֵי שָׁמַע) were merely castanets.

They consisted of two hemispheres of metal, probably of bronze, running off to a point, which was elongated into a bar or handle. The player grasped a cymbal in each hand, and either clashed them together horizontally, or else, holding one cup-wise in his left, brought the other down upon it perpendicularly with his right.

Eunuch playing on the cymbals (Koyunjik).

Two drums are represented on the Assyrian sculptures. One is a small instrument resembling the *tubbul* now frequently used by Eastern dancing-girls.[13] The other is of larger size, like the *tubbul* at top, but descending gradually in the shape of an inverted cone, and terminating almost in a point at bottom. Both were carried in front, against the stomach of the player, attached, apparently, to his girdle; and both were played in the same way, namely, with the fingers of the open hands on the top.[14]

A few instruments carried by musicians are of an anomalous appearance, and do not admit of identification with any known species. One, which is borne by a musician in a processional scene belonging to the time of Sennacherib, resembles in shape a bag turned upside down. By the manner in which it is held, we may conjecture that it was a sort of rattle

[13] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 455.

[14] For representations of these drums, see overleaf.

Assyrian *tubbuls*, or drums (Koyunjik).

—a hollow square box of wood or metal, containing stones or other hard substances which produced a jingling noise when shaken. But the purpose of the semicircular bow which hangs from the box is difficult to explain, unless we suppose that it was merely a handle by which to carry the instrument when not in use. Rattles of different kinds are found among the musical instruments of Egypt;[1] and one of them consists of a box with a long handle attached to it. The jingling noise produced by such instruments

[1] Wilkinson, vol. ii. pp. 238, 322-327, &c.

may have corresponded to the sound now emitted by the side rings of the tambourine.

Another curious-looking instrument occurs in a processional scene of the time of Asshur-bani-pal, which has been compared to the modern *santour*, a sort of dulcimer.[2] It consisted (apparently) of a number of strings, certainly not fewer than ten, stretched over a hollow case or sounding-board. The musician seems to have struck the strings with a small bar or hammer held in his right hand, while, at the same time, he made some use of his left hand in pressing them so as to produce the right note. It is clear that this instrument must have been suspended round the neck, though the Assyrian artist has omitted to represent the belt which kept it in place.

Musician playing the dulcimer (Koyunjik).

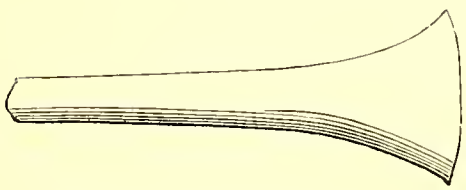
In addition to all these various instruments, it is possible that the Assyrians may have made use of a sort of horn. An object is represented on a slab of Sennacherib's which is certainly either a horn or a

[2] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 454.

speaking-trumpet. It is carried by one of the supervisors of the works in a scene representing the conveyance of a colossal bull to its destination. In shape it no doubt resembles the modern speaking-trumpet, but it is almost equally near to the *tuba* or military trumpet of the Greeks and Romans. This will appear sufficiently on a comparison of the two subjoined representations, one of which is taken from Mr. Layard's representation of Sennacherib's slab,[3] while the other is from a sculpture on the column of Trajan. As we have no mention of the speaking-trumpet in any ancient writer, as the shape of the object under consideration is that of a known ancient instrument of music, and as an ordinary horn would have been of great use in giving signals to workmen engaged as the labourers are upon the sculpture, it seems best to regard the object in question as such a horn—an instrument of great power, but of little compass—more suitable therefore for signal-giving than for concerts.[4]

No. I. Roman trumpet (Column of Trajan).

No. II. Assyrian trumpet (Layard).



No. III. Portion of an Assyrian trumpet.

Passing now from the instruments of the Assyrians to the general features and character of their music,

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[3] See *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd Series, Pl. 15. The original slab is in the British Museum, but in so bad a condition that the trumpet is now scarcely visible.

[4] The trumpet was employed by the Greeks and Romans, and also by the Jews, chiefly for signals. (See *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.* ad voc. TUBA, and *Biblical Dictionary* ad voc. CORNET.)

we may observe, in the first place, that while it is fair to suppose them acquainted with each form of the triple symphony,[5] there is only evidence that they knew of two forms out of the three—viz. the harmony of instruments, and that of instruments and voices in combination. Of these two they seem greatly to have preferred the concert of instruments without voices; indeed, one instance alone shows that they were not wholly ignorant of the more complex harmony.[6] Even this leaves it doubtful whether they themselves practised it; for the singers and musicians represented as uniting their efforts are not Assyrians, but Susianians, who come out to greet their conquerors, and do honour to the new sovereign who has been imposed on them, with singing, playing, and dancing.

Assyrian bands were variously composed. The simplest consisted of two harpers. A band of this limited number seems to have been an established part of the religious ceremonial on the return of the monarch from the chase, when a libation was poured over the dead game. The instrument in use on these occasions was the antique harp, which was played, not with the hand, but with the plectrum. A similar band appears on one occasion in a triumphal return from a military expedition belonging to the time of Sennacherib.[7]

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[5] See Rollin, *Ancient History*, vol. ii. p. 254.

[6] See *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 455. It may perhaps be thought that the scene where the king is represented as pouring a libation over four dead lions (supra, p. 134) furnishes a second instance of the combination of vocal with instrumental music. But a comparison of that scene with parallel representations on a larger scale in the Nimrud series convinces me that it is merely by a neglect of the artist that the two musicians are given only one harp.

[7] Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st Series, Pl. 73.

In several instances we find bands of three musicians. In one case all three play the lyre. The musicians here are certainly captives, whom the Assyrians have borne off from their own country. It has been thought that their physiognomy is Jewish,[8]

Captives playing on lyres.

and that the lyre which they bear in their hands may represent that kind of "harp" which the children of the later Captivity hung up upon the willows

[8] The authorities at our National Collection at one time entitled the bas-relief in question "*Jewish* captives playing on lyres."

when they wept by the rivers of Babylon.[9] There are no sufficient grounds, however, for this identification. The lyre may be pronounced foreign, since it is unlike any other specimen; but its ornamentation with an animal head is sufficient to show that it is not Jewish.[10] And the Jewish *kinnor* was rather a harp than a lyre, and had certainly more than four strings.[11] Still, the employment of captives as musicians is interesting, though we cannot say that the captives are Jews. It shows us that the Assyrians, like the later Babylonians,[12] were in the habit of "requiring" music from their prisoners, who, when transported into "a strange land," had to entertain their masters with their native melodies.

Another band of three exhibits to us a harper, a player on the lyre, and a player on the double pipe.[13] A third shows a harper, a player on the lyre, and a musician whose instrument is uncertain. In this latter case it is quite possible that there may originally have been more musicians than three, for the sculpture is imperfect, terminating in the middle of a figure.[14]

Bands of four performers are about as common as bands of three. On an obelisk belonging to the time of Asshur-idanni-pal we see a band composed of two cymbal-players and two performers on the

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[9] Ps. cxxxvii. 1, 2.

[10] It is well known that the Jews regard the second commandment as forbidding all artistic representation of natural objects.

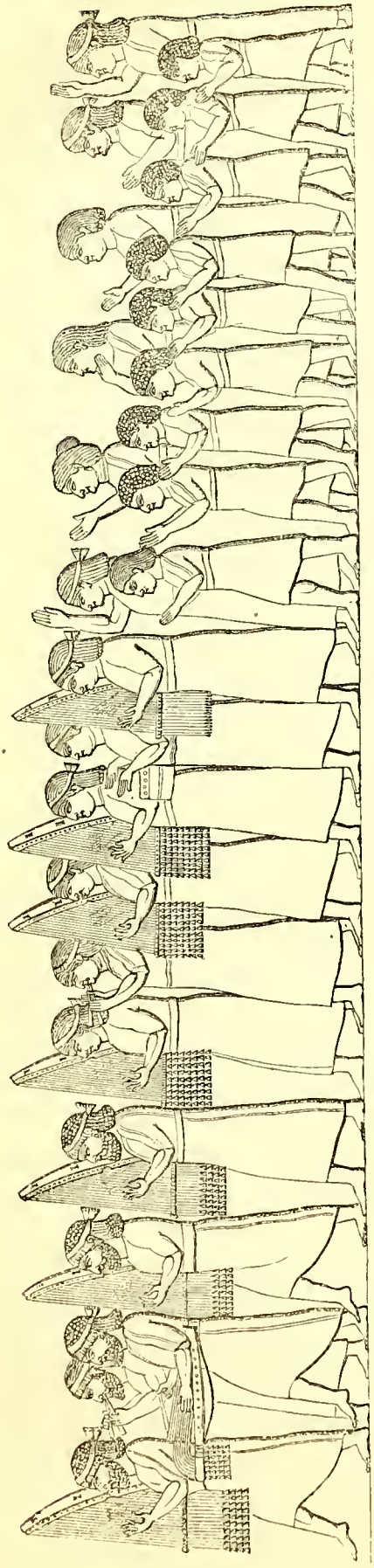
Lyre on Hebrew coin.

[11] The authorities vary between ten strings and forty-seven. (Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 758.) Hebrew coins, however, represent lyres with as few strings as *three*.

[12] Ps. cxxxvii. 3, 4.

[13] I am acquainted with this sculpture only through one of Mr. Boutcher's admirable drawings in the British Museum Collection.

[14] This is also the case in a sculpture, where two musicians play the lyre, and a third had probably the same instrument. (See Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, vol. i. Pl. 67.)



Band of musicians.

lyre. A slab of Sennacherib's exhibits four harpers arranged in two pairs, all playing with the plectrum on the antique harp.[1] Another of the same date, which is incomplete, shows us a tambourine-player, a cymbal-player, a player on the nondescript instrument which has been called a sort of rattle, and another whose instrument cannot be distinguished. In a sculpture of a later period, which is represented above,[2] we see a band of four, composed of a tambourine-player, two players on two different sorts of lyres, and a cymbal-player.

It is not often that we find representations of bands containing more than four performers. On the sculptures hitherto discovered there seem to be only three instances where this number was exceeded. A bas-relief of Sennache-

[1] Both this and the obelisk sculpture are now in the British Museum.

[2] Supra, p. 158.

rib's showed five players, of whom two had tambourines; two, harps of the antique pattern; and one, cymbals.[3] Another, belonging to the time of his grandson, exhibited a band of seven, three of whom played upon harps of the later fashion, two on the double pipe, one on the guitar, and one on the long drum with the conical bottom.[4] Finally, we have the remarkable scene represented on the page opposite, a work of the same date, where no fewer than twenty-six performers are seen uniting their efforts. Of these eleven are players on instruments, while the remaining fifteen are vocalists. The instruments consist of seven harps, two double pipes, a small drum or *tubbul*, and the curious instrument which has been compared to the modern *santour*. The players are all men, six out of the eleven being eunuchs. The singers consist of six women, and nine children of various ages, the latter of whom seem to accompany their singing, as the Hebrews and Egyptians sometimes did,[5] with clapping of the hands. Three out of the first four musicians are represented with one leg raised, as if dancing to the measure.[6]

Bands in Assyria had sometimes, though not always, time-keepers or leaders, who took the direction of the performance. These were commonly eunuchs, as indeed were the greater number of the

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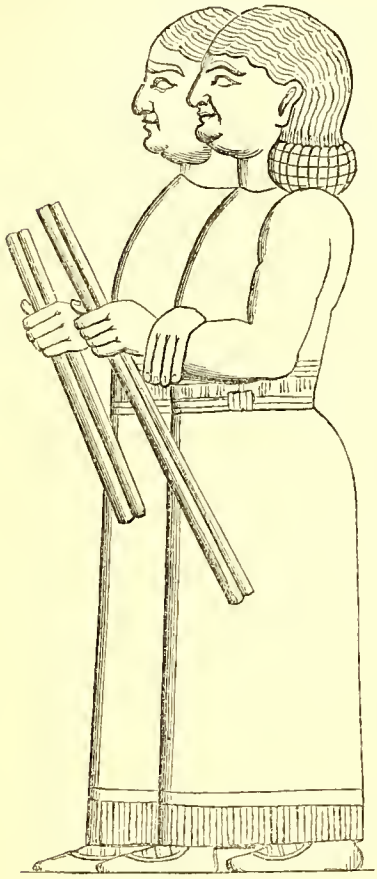
[3] This sculpture is also known to me only through Mr. Boutcher's representation of it.

[4] A portion of this bas-relief, containing two musicians only, is exhibited in the Museum, and has been represented above, page 107. Mr. Boutcher's drawing, made on the spot, shows that there were actually on the relief as discovered at least five other musicians.

[5] Ps. xlvii. 1; Herod. ii. 60; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 1st Series, vol. ii. p. 326.

[6] See the representations on pages 153 and 161.

musicians. They held in one hand a double rod or wand, with which most probably they made their signals, and stood side by side facing the performers.



Time-keepers (Koyunjik).

The Assyrians seem to have employed music chiefly for festive and religious purposes. The favourite instrument in the religious ceremonies was the antique harp, which continued in use as a sacred instrument from the earliest to the latest times.[7] On festive occasions the lyre was preferred, or a mixed band with a variety of instruments. In the quiet of domestic life the monarch and his sultana were entertained with concerted music played by a large number of performers; while in processions and pageants, whether of a civil or of a military character, bands were also very generally employed, consisting of two, three, four, five, or possibly more,[8] musicians. Cymbals, the tambourine, and the instrument which has been above regarded as a sort of rattle, were peculiar to these processional occasions; the harp, the lyre, and the double pipe had likewise a place in them.

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[7] See *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st Series, Pls. 12 and 17, and compare the Woodcut, supra, p. 134.

[8] The fragmentary character of the sculptures renders it often doubtful whether the actual number of the performers may not have considerably exceeded the number at present visible.

In actual war, it would appear that music was employed very sparingly, if at all, by the Assyrians. No musicians are ever represented in the battle-scenes; nor are the troops accompanied by any when upon the march. Musicians are only seen conjoined with troops in one or two marching processions, apparently of a triumphal character. It may consequently be doubted whether the Assyrian armies, when they went out on their expeditions, were attended, like the Egyptian and Roman armies,[9] by military bands. Possibly, the musicians in the processional scenes alluded to, belong to the court rather than to the camp, and merely take part as civilians in a pageant, wherein a share is also assigned to the soldiery.

In proceeding, as already proposed,[10] to speak of the navigation of the Assyrians, it must be at once premised that it is not as mariners, but only as fresh-water sailors, that they come within the category of navigators at all. Originally an inland people, they had no power, in the earlier ages of their history, to engage in any but the secondary and inferior kind of navigation; and it would seem that, by the time when they succeeded in opening to themselves by their conquests a way to the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, their habits had become so fixed in this respect that they no longer admitted of change. There is satisfactory evidence which shows that they left the navigation of the two seas at the two extremities of their empire to the subject nations—the Phœnicians and the Babylonians,[11] contenting

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[9] Wilkinson, vol. ii. pp. 260, 261; Liv. i. 43; Sueton. *Vit. Jul.* § 32; Amm. Marc. xxiv. 4; &c.

[10] Supra, p. 150.

[11] The evidence is not merely negative. It is positively stated by

themselves with the profits without sharing the dangers of marine voyages, while their own attention was concentrated upon their two great rivers—the Tigris and the Euphrates, which formed the natural line of communication between the seas in question.

The navigation of these streams was important to the Assyrians in two ways. In the first place it was a military necessity that they should be able, *readily and without delay*, to effect the passage of both of them, and also of their tributaries, which were frequently too deep to be forded.[12] Now from very early times it was probably found tolerably easy to pass an army over a great river by swimming, more especially with the aid of inflated skins, which would be soon employed for the purpose. But the *matériel* of the army—the provisions, the chariots, and the siege machines—was not so readily transported, and indeed could only be conveyed across deep rivers by means of bridges, rafts, or boats. On the great streams of the Tigris and Euphrates, with their enormous spring floods, no bridge, in the ordinary sense of the word, is possible.[13] Bridges of boats are still the only bridges that exist on either river below the point at which they issue from the gorges of the mountains.[14]

Herodotus that in the time of Assyrian ascendancy the carrying trade of the eastern Mediterranean was in the hands of the Phœnicians (Herod. i. 1); and Isaiah (xliii. 14) implies that the Chaldæans of his time retained the trade of the Persian Gulf.

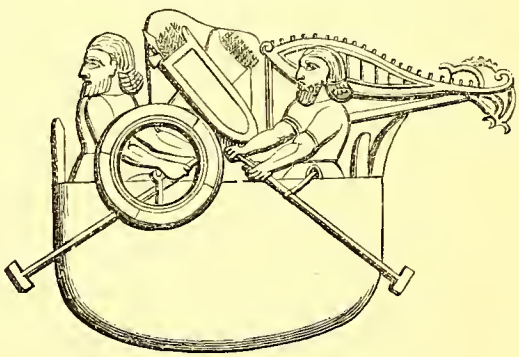
[12] Herod. v. 52; and supra, vol. i. pp. 231 and 236.

[13] If even the Araxes (*Aras*) might be truly said in Virgil's time to "abhor a bridge" ("pontem indignatus Araxes," Virg. *Æn.* viii. 728), much more would these two mightiest streams of Western Asia have in the early ages defied the art of bridge-building.

[14] The lowest bridge over the Tigris is that at Diarbekr, a stone structure of ten arches; the lowest on the Euphrates is, I believe, that at *Eghin*. Mr. Berrington, a recent traveller in the East, informs me that there is a ruined bridge, which once crossed the Tigris, a little below Jezireh.

And these would be comparatively late inventions, long subsequent to the employment of single ferry boats. Probably the earliest contrivance for transporting the chariots, the stores, and the engines across a river was a raft, composed hastily of the trees and bushes growing in the neighbourhood of the stream, and rendered capable of sustaining a considerable weight by the attachment to it of a number of inflated skins. A representation of such a raft, taken from a slab of Sennacherib, has been already given.[1] Rafts of this kind are still largely employed in the navigation of the Mesopotamian streams,[2] and, being extremely simple in their construction, may reasonably be supposed to have been employed by the Assyrians from the very foundation of their empire.

To these rafts would naturally have succeeded boats of one kind or another. As early as the time of Tiglath-Pileser I. (ab. B.C. 1110) we find a mention of boats as employed in the passage of the Euphrates.[3] These would probably be of the kind described by Herodotus,[4] and represented on one of the most ancient bas-reliefs—round



Assyrian coracle (Nimrud).

[1] See vol. i. p. 421.

[2] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. pp. 96-98; *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 465; Loftus, *Chaldœa and Susiana*, p. 4.

[3] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, pp. 46, 47. Sir H. Rawlinson translates the passage—"The men of their armies who had fled before the face of the valiant servants of my lord Asshur, crossed over the Euphrates; in *boats covered with bitumen skins* I crossed the Euphrates after them." Mr. Fox Talbot renders the last clause—"I crossed the river after them in my boats formed of skins."

[4] Herod. i. 194.

structures, like the Welsh coracles, made of wicker-work and covered with skins, smeared over with a coating of bitumen. Boats of this construction were made of a considerable size. The one above represented contains a chariot, and is navigated by two men. In the later sculptures the number of navigators is raised to four, and the boats carry a heavy load of stone or other material.[5] The mode of propulsion is curious and very unusual. The rowers sit at the stem and stern, facing each other, and, while those at the stem pull, those at the stern must have pushed, as Herodotus tells us that they did.[6] The make of the oars is also singular. In the earlier sculptures they are short poles terminating in a head, shaped like a small axe or hammer;[7] in the later, below this axe-like appendage, they have a sort of curved blade, which is, however, not solid, but perforated, so as to form a mere framework, which seems to require filling up.

Common oar. (Time of Sennacherib.)

Besides these round boats, which correspond closely with the *kufas* in use upon the Tigris and Euphrates at the present day,[8] the Assyrians employed for the passage of rivers, even in very early times, a vessel of a more scientific construction. The early bas-reliefs exhibit to us, together with the *kufa*, a second

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[5] *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd Series, Pl. 12.

[6] Herod. l. s. c.: Ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἕλκει τὸ πλῆκτρον, ὁ δὲ ἔξω ὠθέει.

[7] *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 15 and 16. See also the last Woodcut.

[8] Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. ii. p. 640; Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 260; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 381.

and much larger vessel, manned with a crew of seven men—a helmsman and six rowers, three upon either side[9]—and capable of conveying across a broad stream two chariots at a time,[10] or a chariot and two or three passengers. This vessel appears to have been made of planks. It was long, and comparatively narrow. It had a flattish bottom, and was rounded off towards the stem and stern, much as boats are rounded off towards the bows at the present day. It did not possess either mast or sail, but was propelled wholly by oars, which were of the same shape as those used anciently by the rowers in the round boats. In the steersman's hand is seen an oar of a different kind. It is much longer than the rowing oars, and terminates in an oval blade, which would have given it considerable power in the water. The helmsman steered with both hands; and it seems that his oar was lashed to an upright post near the stern of the vessel.[11]

Steering oar. (Time of Asshur-idanni-pal.)

It is evident that before armies could look habitually to being transported across the Mesopotamian streams, wherever they might happen to strike them in their expeditions, by boats of these two kinds, either ferries must have been established at convenient intervals upon them, or traffic along their courses by means of boats must have been pretty regular. An Assyrian army did not carry its boats with

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[9] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 15. Only three of the rowers are visible; but it is, I think, certain that there must have been three others corresponding to them on the other side of the vessel. For a representation of this kind of boat see below, p. 175, No. I.

[10] Ibid. Pl. 16.

[11] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 382.

it, as a modern army does its pontoons. Boats were commonly found in sufficient numbers on the streams themselves when an army needed them, and were impressed, or hired, to convey the troops across. And thus we see that the actual navigation of the streams had another object besides the military one of transport from bank to bank. Rivers are Nature's roads; and we may be sure that the country had not been long settled before a water communication began to be established between towns upon the river-courses, and commodities began to be transported by means of them. The very position of the chief towns upon the banks of the streams was probably connected with this sort of transport, the rivers furnishing the means by which large quantities of building material could be conveniently concentrated at a given spot, and by which supplies could afterwards be regularly received from a distance. We see in the Assyrian sculptures the conveyance of stones, planks, &c., along the rivers,[12] as well as the passage of chariots, horses,[13] and persons across them. Rafts and round boats were most commonly used for this purpose. When a mass of unusual size, as a huge paving-stone, or a colossal bull or lion, had to be moved, a long, low, flat-bottomed boat was employed, which the mass sometimes more than covered.[14] In this case, as there was no room for rowers, trackers were engaged, who dragged the boat along by means of ropes, which were fastened either to the boat itself or to its burthen.

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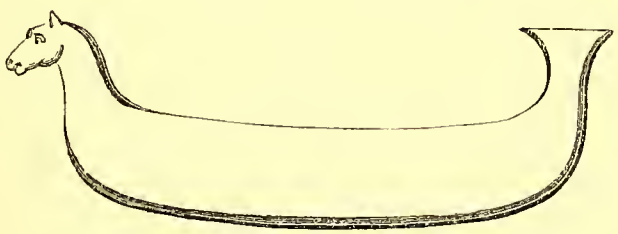
[12] *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pls. 10, 12, and 13.

[13] For the transport of horses in boats, see a Woodcut in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 232, and compare above, vol. i. p. 288.

[14] *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 10.

During the later period of the monarchy various improvements took place in Assyrian boat-building. The Phœnician and Cyprian expeditions of the later kings made the Assyrians well acquainted with the ships of first-rate nautical nations; and they seem to have immediately profited by this acquaintance, in order to improve the appearance and the quality of their own river boats. The clumsy and inelegant long-boat of the earlier times was replaced, even for ordinary traffic, by a light and graceful fabric, which was evidently a copy from Phœnician models. Modifications, which would seem trifling if described, changed the whole character of the vessels, in which light and graceful curves took the place of straight lines and

No. I. Early long-boat (Nimrud).



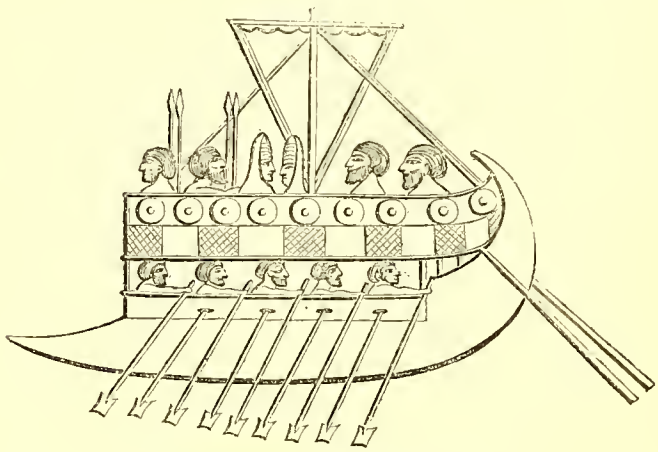
No. II. Later long-boat (Khorsabad).

angles only just rounded off. The stem and stern were raised high above the body of the boat, and were shaped like fishes' tails or carved into the heads of animals.[1] Oars, shaped nearly like modern ones, came into vogue, and the rowers were placed so as all to look one way, and to pull instead of pushing with their

[1] For other examples of the boats of this time see vol. i. pp. 288 and 387.

oars. Finally, the principle of the bireme was adopted, and river-galleys were constructed of such a size that they had to be manned by thirty rowers, who sat in two tiers one above the other at the sides of the galley, while the centre part, which seems to have been decked, was occupied by eight or ten other persons.[2]

In galleys of this kind the naval architecture of the Assyrians seems to have culminated. They never, so far as appears, adopted for their boats the inventions,



Phœnician bireme (Koyunjik).

with which their intercourse with Phœnicia had rendered them perfectly familiar,[3] of masts and sails. This is probably to be explained from the extreme rapidity of the Mesopotamian rivers, on which sailing boats are still uncommon. The unfailing strength of rowers was needed in order to meet and stem the force of the currents, and this strength being provided in abundance, it was not thought necessary to husband

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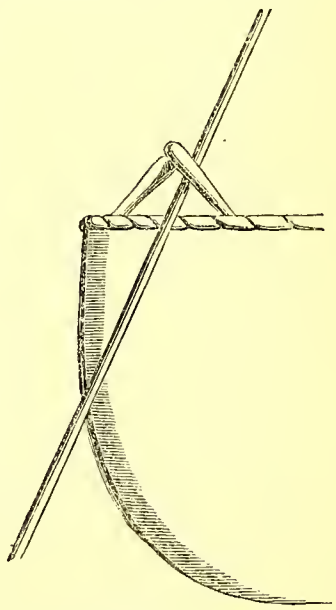
[2] See vol. i. p. 447, for a representation of such a bireme.

[3] Masts and sails will be found in representations of Phœnician vessels (Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 71), which belong to the time of Sennacherib. Masts without sails appear in the sculptures of Sargon. (Botta, *Monument*, vol. i. Pls. 31 to 35.)

it or eke it out by the addition of a second motive power. Again, the boats, being intended only for peaceful purposes, were unprovided with beaks, another invention well known to the Assyrians, and frequently introduced into their sculptures in the representations of Phœnician vessels.

In the Assyrian biremes the oars of the lower tier were worked through holes in the vessel's sides.[4] This arrangement would, of course, at once supply a fulcrum and keep the oars in their places. But it is not so easy to see how the oars of a common row-boat, or the uppermost tier of a bireme, obtained their purchase on the vessel and were prevented from slipping along its side. Assyrian vessels had no rullocks, and in general the oars are represented as simply rested without any support on the upper edge of the bulwark. But this can scarcely have been the real practice; and one or two representations, where a support is provided, may be fairly regarded as showing what the practice actually was. In the figure of a *kufa*, or round boat, already given,[5] it will be seen that one oar is worked by means of a thong, like the τροπὸς or τροπωτὴρ of the Greeks, which is attached to a ring in the bulwark. In another bas-relief,[6] several of



Oar kept in place by pegs (Koyunjik).

[4] See the representation, vol. i. p. 447.

[5] Supra, p. 170.

[6] Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pls. 12 and 13. The entire bas-relief, of which Mr. Layard has represented parts, may be seen in the British Museum.

the oars of similar boats are represented as kept in place by means of two pegs fixed into the top of the bulwark and inclined at an angle to one another. Probably one or other of these two methods of steadying the oar was in reality adopted in every instance.

With regard to Assyrian commerce, it must at the outset be remarked that direct notices in ancient writers of any real authority are scanty in the extreme. The Prophet Nahum says indeed, in a broad and general way, of Nineveh—"Thou hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven;"[7] and Ezekiel tells us more particularly that Assyrian merchants, along with others, traded with Tyre "in blue clothes, and broidered work, and in chests of rich apparel."[8] But, except these two, there seem to be no notices of Assyrian trade in any contemporary or *quasi*-contemporary author. Herodotus, writing nearly two hundred years after the empire had come to an end, mentions casually that "Assyrian wares" had in very ancient times been conveyed by the Phœnicians to Greece and there sold to the inhabitants.[9] He speaks also of a river traffic in his own day between Armenia and Babylon along the course of the Euphrates,[10] a fact which indirectly throws light upon the habits of earlier ages. Diodorus, following Ctesias, declares that a number of cities were established from very ancient times on the banks of both the

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[7] Nahum iii. 16.

[8] Ezek. xxvii. 23, 24: "Haran and Canneh and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, *Asshur*, and Chilmad, were thy merchants. They were thy merchants in all sorts of things [or, excellent things], in blue clothes [or, foldings], and broidered work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords, and made of cedar, among thy merchandise." In Ezek. xxvii. 6, the Asshurites (בְּנֵי־אַשּׁוּרִים) are said to have made the Tyrians "benches of ivory;" but it is doubtful if the Assyrians are intended. (Compare Gen. xxv. 3.)

[9] Herod. i. 1.

[10] Ibid. i. 194. (Compare 185.)

Tigris and Euphrates to serve as marts for trade to the merchants who imported into Assyria the commodities of Media and Parætacêne.[11] Among the most important of these marts, as we learn from Strabo, were Tiphsach or Thapsacus on the Euphrates, and Opis upon the Tigris.[12]

It is from notices thus scanty, partial, and incidental, eked out by probability, and further helped by a certain number of important facts with respect to the commodities actually used in the country, whereof evidence has been furnished to us by the recent discoveries, that we have to form our estimate of the ancient commerce of the Assyrians. The Inscriptions throw little or no light upon the subject. They record the march of armies against foreign enemies, and their triumphant return laden with plunder and tribute, sometimes showing incidentally what products of a country were most in request among the Assyrians; but they contain no accounts of the journeys of merchants, or of the commodities which entered or quitted the country in the common course of trade.

The favourable situation of Assyria for trade has often attracted remark.[1] Lying on the middle courses of two great navigable streams, it was readily approached by water both from the north-west and from the south-east. The communication between the Mediterranean and the Southern or Indian Ocean naturally—almost necessarily—followed this route. If Europe wanted the wares and products of India, or

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[11] Diod. Sic. ii. 11.

[12] Strab. xvi. 3, § 4, and 1, § 9.

[1] Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, vol. ii. pp. 194-198, E. T.; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 414; Vance Smith, *Prophecies relating to Nineveh*, pp. 62, 63.

if India required the commodities of Europe, by far the shortest and easiest course was the line from the eastern Mediterranean across Northern Syria; and thence by one or other of the two great streams to the innermost recess of the Persian Gulf. The route by the Nile, the canal of Neco, and the Red Sea, was decidedly inferior, most especially on account of the dangerous navigation of that sea, but also because it was circuitous, and involved a voyage in the open ocean of at least twice the length of the other.[2]

Again, Assyria lay almost necessarily on the line of land communication between the north-east and the south-west. The lofty Armenian mountain-chains —Niphates and the other parallel ranges—towards the north, and the great Arabian Desert towards the south, offered difficulties to companies of land-traders which they were unwilling to face, and naturally led them to select routes intermediate between these two obstacles, which could not fail to pass through some part or other of the Mesopotamian region.

The established lines of land trade between Assyria and her neighbours were probably very numerous, but the most important must have been some five or six. One almost certainly led from the Urumiyeh basin over the *Keli-shin* pass (lat 37°, long. 45° nearly), descending on Rowandiz, and thence following the course of the Greater Zab to Herir, whence it crossed the plain to Nineveh. At the summit of the *Keli-shin* pass is a pillar of dark blue stone, six feet in height, two in breadth, and one in depth, let into a

[2] The distance from the Straits of Bab el Mandeb to the western mouth of the Indus is more than double that from the Ras Musendom to the same point. The one is 800, the other 1800 miles.

basement block of the same material, and covered with a cuneiform inscription in the Scythic character.[3] At a short distance to the westward on the same route is another similar pillar.[4] The date of the inscriptions falls within the most flourishing time of the Assyrian empire,[5] and their erection is a strong argument in favour of the use of this route (which is one of the very few possible modes of crossing the Zagros range) in the time when that empire was in full vigour.

Another line of land traffic probably passed over the same mountain-range considerably further to the south. It united Assyria with Media, leading from the Northern Ecbatana (Takht-i-Suleïman) by the Banneh pass[6] to Suleïmaniyeh, and thence by Kerkuk and Altun-Kiupri to Arbela and Nineveh.

There may have been also a route up the valley of the Lesser Zab, by Koi-Sinjah and over the great Kandil range into Lajihan. There are said to be Assyrian remains near Koi-Sinjah,[7] at a place called the Bihisht and Jehennem ("the Heaven and Hell") of Nimrud, but no account has been given of them by any European traveller.

Westward there were probably two chief lines of trade with Syria and the adjacent countries. One passed along the Sinjar range by Sidikan (*Arban*) on the Khabour to Tiphsach (or Thapsacus) on the Euphrates, where it crossed the Great River. Thence it bent southwards, and, passing through Tadmor,

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[3] See the *Journal of the Geographical Society*, vol. x. p. 21.

[4] Ibid. p. 22.

[5] About B.C. 700. The inscriptions are in the early Scythic Armenian, and belong to a king called *Minua*, who reigned at Van towards the end of the eighth century B.C.

[6] This pass is the lowest and easiest in the whole chain, and would therefore almost certainly have come into use at a very early date.

[7] This statement is made on the authority of Sir H. Rawlinson.

was directed upon Phœnicia most likely by way of Damascus.[8] Another took a more northern line by the Mons Masius to Harran and Seruj, crossing the Euphrates at Bir, and thence communicating both with Upper Syria and with Asia Minor. The former of these two routes is marked as a line of traffic by the foreign objects discovered in such abundance at Arban,[9] by the name Tiphsach, which means "passage," [10] and by the admitted object of Solomon in building Tadmor.[11] The other rests on less direct evidence; but there are indications of it in the trade of Harran with Tyre which is mentioned by Ezekiel,[12] and in the Assyrian remains near Seruj,[13] which is on the route from Harran to the Bir fordway.

Towards the north, probably the route most used was that which is thought by many to be the line followed by Xenophon,[1] first up the valley of the Tigris to Til or Tilleh, and then along the Bitlis Chai to the lake of Van and the adjacent country. Another route may have led from Nineveh to Nisibis, thence through the Jebel Tur to Diarbekr, and from Diarbekr up the Western Tigris to Arghana, Kharput, Malatiyeh, and Asia Minor. Assyrian remains have been found at various points along this latter

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[8] See the article on DAMASCUS in Dr. Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 383.

[9] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 280-282.

[10] Tiphsach is formed from פָּסַח, "to pass over," (whence our word "Paschal,") by the addition of the prosthetic ת.

[11] That Solomon built Tadmor for commercial purposes has been generally seen and allowed. (Cf. Ewald, *Geschichte d. Volkes Israel*, vol. iii. p. 344, 2nd ed.; Kitto, *Biblical Cyclopædia*, vol. ii. p. 816; Milman, *History of the Jews*, vol. i. p. 266.)

[12] Ezek. xxvii. 23.

[13] See above, vol. i. p. 248.

[1] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 49 and Map; Ainsworth, *Travels in the Track*, &c., pp. 141-171. Mr. Ainsworth, however, takes the Ten Thousand along the route from Sert to Mush, leaving the Van Lake considerably to the east.

line,[2] while the former is almost certain to have connected the Assyrian with the Armenian capital.[3]

Armenian productions would, however, reach Nineveh and the other great central cities mainly by the Tigris, down which they could easily have been floated from Tilleh or even from Diarbekr. Similarly, Babylonian and Susianian productions, together with the commodities which either or both of those countries imported by sea, would find their way into Assyria up the courses of the two streams, which were navigated by vessels capable of stemming the force of the current, at least as high as Opis and Thapsacus.[4]

We may now proceed to inquire what were the commodities which Assyria, either certainly or probably, imported by these various lines of land and water communication. Those of which we seem to have some indication in the existing remains are gold, tin, ivory, lead, stones of various kinds, cedar-wood, pearls, and engraved seals.

Many articles in gold have been recovered at the various Assyrian sites where excavations have been made; and indications have been found of the employment of this precious metal in the ornamentation of palaces and of furniture.[5] The actual quantity discovered has, indeed, been small; but this may be

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[2] Chiefly by Mr. Consul Taylor, whose discoveries in this region will be again noticed in the Historical chapter.

[3] There were perhaps two other northern routes intermediate between these: one leading up the *Supnat* or river of Sophene—the eastern branch of the true Tigris, and crossing the Euphrates at *Palou*, where there is an inscription in the Scythic Armenian; and the other, described by Procopius (*De Ædific.* ii. 4), which crossed the mountains between *Redwan* and *Mush*.

[4] Strab. xvi. 1, § 9, and 3, § 3.

[5] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. pp. 30, 134; vol. ii. pp. 263, 264; *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 652.

accounted for without calling in question the reality of that extraordinary wealth in the precious metals which is ascribed by all antiquity to Assyria.[6] This wealth no doubt flowed in, to a considerable extent, from the plunder of conquered nations and the tribute paid by dependant monarchs. But the quantity obtained in this way would hardly have sufficed to maintain the luxury of the court and at the same time to accumulate, so that when Nineveh was taken there was "none end" of the store.[7] It has been suggested[8] that "mines of gold were probably once worked within the Assyrian dominions," although no gold is now known to be produced anywhere within her limits. But perhaps it is more probable that, like Judæa[9] and Phœnicia,[10] she obtained her gold in a great measure from commerce, taking it either from the Phœnicians, who derived it both from Arabia[11] and from the West African coast,[12] or else from the Babylonians, who may have imported it by sea from India.[13]

Tin, which has not been found in a pure state in the remains of the Assyrians, but which enters regularly as an element into their bronze, where it forms

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[6] Diod. Sic. ii. 27, 28; Athen. *Deipn.* xii. 37; Phœnix Coloph. ap. Athen. xii. 40; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 15; Nahum ii. 9, &c.

[7] The whole passage in Nahum runs thus—"Take ye the spoil of *silver*, take the spoil of *gold:* for there is *none end* of the store, the abundance of every precious thing."

[8] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 416.

[9] 1 Kings ix. 28, x. 11; Job xxii. 24.

[10] Ezek. xxvii. 22.

[11] The "merchants of Sheba" who "occupied" in the fairs of Tyre with "chief of all spices, and with all precious stones and gold" (Ezek. *l.c.*), were undoubtedly Arabians—*i.e.* Sabæans of Yemen. (Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, vol. ii. p. 98, E. T.; Poole in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 94, ad voc. ARABIA.)

[12] Through the Carthaginians, their colonists, who were the actual traders in this quarter. (See Herod. iv. 196.)

[13] Supra, vol. i. p. 128.

from one-tenth to one-seventh of the mass,[14] was also, probably, an importation. Tin is a comparatively rare metal. Abundant enough in certain places, it is not diffused at all widely or generally over the earth's surface. Neither Assyria itself, nor any of the neighbouring countries, are known to have ever produced this mineral. Phœnicia certainly imported it, directly or indirectly, from Cornwall and the Scilly Isles, which therefore became first known in ancient geography as the Cassiterides or "Tin Islands."[15] It is a reasonable supposition that the tin, wherewith the Assyrians hardened their bronze, was obtained by their merchants from the Phœnicians[16] in exchange for textile fabrics and (it may be) other commodities. If so, we may believe that in many instances the produce of our own tin mines, which left our shores more than twenty-five centuries ago, has, after twice travelling a distance of many thousand miles, returned to seek a final rest in its native country.

Ivory was used by the Assyrians extensively in their furniture,[17] and was probably supplied by them to the Phœnicians and the Greeks. It was no doubt sometimes brought to them by subject nations as tribute ;[18] but this source of supply is not sufficient to

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[14] See the results of Dr. Percy's analysis of Assyrian bronzes in Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, Appendix, pp. 670-672.

[15] Compare Herod. iii. 115; Posidon. Fr. 48; Polyb. iii. 57, § 3; Diod. Sic. v. 22 and 38; Strab. iii. p. 197; Plin. *H. N.* iv. 22; Timæus ap. Plin. iv. 16; Pomp. Mel. iii. 6; Solin. 26. According to Diodorus and Strabo, the Phœnicians likewise obtained tin from Spain.

[16] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 191.

[17] Supra, vol. i. pp. 462-465. The classical writers were acquainted with this fact. Dionysius Periegetes says that Semiramis built a temple to Belus,

Χρυσῷ, ἠδ' ἐλέφαντι, καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἀσκήσασα (l. 1008).

And Festus Avienus declares of the same building,

"Domus Indo dente nitescit." (l. 931).

[18] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 48.

account, at once for the consumption in Assyria itself, and for the exports from Assyria to foreign countries.[19] A regular trade for ivory seems to have been carried on from very early times between India and Dedan (*Bahrein*?) in the Persian Gulf.[20] The "travelling companies of the Dedanim"[1] who conveyed this precious merchandise from their own country to Phœnicia, passed probably along the course of the Euphrates, and left a portion of their wares in the marts upon that stream, which may have been thence conveyed to the great Assyrian cities. Or the same people may have traded directly with Assyria by the route of the Tigris. Again, it is quite conceivable—indeed, it is probable—that there was a land traffic between Assyria and Western India by the way of Cabul, Herat, the Caspian Gates, and Media. Of this route we have a trace in the land animals engraved upon the well-known Black Obelisk, where the combination of the small-eared or Indian elephant and the rhinoceros with the two-humped Bactrian camel,[2] sufficiently marks the line by which the productions of India, occasionally at any rate, reached Assyria. The animals themselves were, we may be sure, very rarely transported. Indeed, it is not till the very close of the Persian empire that we find elephants possessed—and even then in scanty numbers—by the Western Asiatic monarchs.[3] But the more portable products of the Indus region, elephants'

[19] On this subject see Mr. Birch's *Memoir* in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, New Series, vol. iii. p. 174.

[20] See Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, vol. ii. p. 245, E. T.; Poole in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, ad voc. DEDAN.

[1] Isaiah xxi. 13. Compare Ezek. xxvii. 15.

[2] See the illustration, supra, vol. i. p. 289.

[3] Darius Codomannus had but fifteen elephants at Arbela. (Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 8.)

tusks, gold, and perhaps shawls and muslins, are likely to have passed to the west by this route with far greater frequency.

The Assyrians were connoisseurs in hard stones and gems, which they seem to have imported from all quarters. The lapis lazuli, which is found frequently among the remains as the material of seals, combs, rings, jars, and other small objects, probably came from Bactria or the adjacent regions, whence alone it is procurable at the present day.[4] The cornelian used for cylinders may have come from Babylonia, which, according to Pliny,[5] furnished it of the best quality in the more ancient times. The agates or onyxes may have been imported from Susiana, where they were found in the bed of the Choaspes (*Kerkhah*), or they may possibly have been brought from India.[6] Other varieties are likely to have been furnished by Armenia, which is rich in stones; and hence too was probably obtained the *shamir*, or emery-stone,[7] by means of which the Assyrians were enabled to engrave all the other hard substances known to them.

That cedar-wood was imported into Assyria is

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[4] The best mines are those near Fyzabad, east of Balkh, on the upper Jihun river (Fraser's *Khorasan*, pp. 105, 106). The other localities where the stone is found are the region about Lake Baikal, and some parts of Thibet and China. (See Encycl. Britann. ad voc. MINERALOGY.)

[5] Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 7.

[6] According to Ctesias the onyxes used for seals by the Babylonians and Assyrians were chiefly derived from India. (Ctes. *Ind.* § 5.) Dionysius Periegetes speaks of agates as abundant in the bed of the Choaspes (*Perieg.* ll. 1075-1077).

[7] See Theophrast. *De Lapid.* p. 397; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 7 and 22. That the Naxian stone of the Greeks and Romans was emery is proved by Mr. King (*Ancient Gems*, p. 473), who believes it to have been first used by, and to have derived its name of "emery" from, the Assyrians. The Semitic *shamir* or *sh'mir* (שְׁמִיר) became the Greek σμύρις, Latin *smyris* or *smiris*, Italian *smeriglio*, French *esmeril* or *émeril*, and our "emery." It seems to be certain that the Assyrian gems could not have been engraved without emery.

sufficiently indicated by the fact that, although no cedars grew in the country, the beams in the palaces were frequently of this material.[8] It may not, however, have been exactly an article of commerce, since the kings appear to have cut it, after their successful expeditions into Syria, and to have carried it off from Lebanon and Amanus as part of the plunder of the country.[9]

Pearls, which have been found in Assyrian earrings,[10] must have been procured from the Persian Gulf, one of the few places frequented by the shellfish which produces them. The pearl fisheries in these parts were pointed out to Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander,[11] and had no doubt been made to yield their treasures to the natives of the coasts and islands from a remote antiquity. The familiarity of the author of the Book of Job with pearls[12] is to be ascribed to the ancient trade in them throughout the regions adjoining the Gulf, which could not fail to bring them at an early date to the knowledge of the Hebrews.

Engraved stones, generally in the shape of scarabs, seem to have been largely imported from Egypt into Assyria, where they were probably used either as amulets or as seals. They have been found in the greatest plenty at Arban[13] on the lower Khabour, the ancient Sidikan or Shadikanni, which lies nearly at the extreme west of the Assyrian territory; but many

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[8] Supra, vol. i. p. 385. Compare Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 357.

[9] Supra, p. 84.

[10] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 595.

[11] Arrian, *Indica*, p. 174.

[12] "No mention shall be made of coral or pearls: for the price of wisdom is above rubies" (Job xxviii. 18).

[13] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 281, 282.

specimens have likewise been obtained from Nineveh and other of the central Assyrian cities.[14]

If we were to indulge in conjecture we might add to this list of Assyrian importations at least an equal number of commodities which, though they have not been found in the ancient remains, may be fairly regarded, on grounds of probability, as objects of trade between Assyria and her neighbours. Frankincense, which was burnt in such lavish profusion in the great temple at Babylon,[15] was probably offered in considerable quantities upon Assyrian altars, and could only have been obtained from Arabia.[16] Cinnamon, which was used by the Jews from the time of the Exodus,[17] and which was early imported into Greece by the Phœnicians,[1] who received it from the Arabians,[2] can scarcely have been unknown in Assyria when the Hebrews were familiar with it. This precious spice must have reached the Arabians from Ceylon or Malabar, the most accessible of the countries producing it.[3] Muslins, shawls, and other tissues are likely to have come by the same route as the cinnamon; and these may possibly have been among the "blue clothes and broidered work and rich apparel," which the merchants of Asshur carried to Tyre in "chests, bound with cords and made of cedar-wood."[4] Dyes, such as the Indian lacca,[5] raw cotton, ebony

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[14] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 280.

[15] Herod. i. 183.

[16] Ibid. iii. 107: Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ [τῇ Ἀραβίῃ] λιβανωτός ἐστι μούνη χωρέων πασέων φυόμενος. Virg. *Georg.* ii. 117:

"Solis est thurea virga Sabæis."

[17] Ex. xxx. 23.

[1] Herod. iii. 111. [2] Ibid.

[3] Herodotus thought that cinnamon was a product of Arabia (iii. 107). But in this he was probably mistaken. (See Pliny, *H. N.* xii. 19.) No true cinnamon seems to grow nearer Europe than Ceylon and Malabar.

[4] Ezek. xxvii. 24. The conjecture is made by Vincent (*Periplus*, vol. i. p. 62).

[5] See Heeren (*Asiatic Nations*, vol. ii. p. 208, E. T.).

and other woods, may have come by the same line of trade; while horses and mules are likely to have been imported from Armenia,[6] and slaves from the country between Armenia and the Halys river.[7]

If from the imports of Assyria we pass to her exports, we leave a region of uncertain light to enter upon one of almost total darkness. That the "wares of Assyria" were among the commodities which the Phœnicians imported into Greece at a very early period, we have the testimony of Herodotus;[8] but he leaves us wholly in the dark as to the nature of the wares themselves. No other classical writer of real authority touches the subject; and any conclusions that we may form upon it must be derived from one of two sources, either general probability, or the single passage in a sacred author which gives us a certain amount of authentic information.[9] From the passage in question, which has been already quoted at length,[10] we learn that the chief of the Assyrian exports to Phœnicia were textile fabrics, apparently of great value, since they were most carefully packed in chests of cedar-wood secured by cords. These fabrics may have been "blue cloaks,"[11] or "em-

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[6] Ezekiel tells us that Armenia (Togarmah) traded with Phœnicia in "horses, horsemen, and mules"—or, more correctly, in "carriage-horses, riding-horses, and mules" (Hitzig, *Comment.* ad voc.). In such articles Assyria would be likely to be at least as good a customer as Phœnicia.

[7] Tubal and Meshech (the Tibareni and Moschi) "traded the persons of men" in the market of Tyre (Ez. verse 13). Their position in Assyrian times was between Armenia and the Halys.

[8] Herod. i. 1: *Φορτία Ἀσσύρια.*

[9] Ezek. xxvii. 23, 24.

[10] Supra, p. 177, note 8.

[11] Neither the "clothes" of the Authorised Version, which is the rendering in the text, nor the "foldings" of the margin, seems to give the true meaning. *Gálom* (גְּלוֹם) is from גָּלַם, "to wrap together," and means "that in which a man wraps himself," "a cloak." Buxtorf translates by "pallium." (*Lex.* ad voc.)

broidery,"[12] or "rich dresses" of any kind,[13] for all these are mentioned by Ezekiel; but we cannot say definitely which Assyria traded in, since the merchants of various other countries are joined in the passage with hers. Judging by the monuments, we should conclude that at least a portion of the embroidered work was from her looms and workshops; for, as has been already shown, the embroidery of the Assyrians was of the most delicate and elaborate description.[14] She is also likely to have traded in rich apparel of all kinds, both such as she manufactured at home and such as she imported from the far East by the lines of traffic which have been pointed out. Some of her own fabrics may possibly have been of silk, which in Roman times was a principal Assyrian export.[15] Whether she exported her other peculiar productions, her transparent and coloured glass, her exquisite metal bowls, plates, and dishes, her beautifully carved ivories, we cannot say. They have not hitherto been found in any place beyond her dominion,[16] so that it would rather seem that she produced them only for home consumption. Some ancient notices appear to imply a belief on the part of the Greeks and Romans that she produced and exported various spices. Horace speaks of Assyrian nard,[17] Virgil of Assyrian *amomum*,[18] Tibullus of

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[12] *Rikmah* (רִקְמָה) is the word used, from רָקַם, "to embroider."

[13] The rare word בְּרוֹמִים is explained by R. Salomon as "a general name for beautiful garments in Arabic." So Kimchi. (See Buxtorf ad. voc.)

[14] Vol. i. pp. 491, 492.

[15] Pliny, *H. N.* xi. 22 and 23.

[16] The silver bowls found in Cyprus must be regarded as within the dominions of Assyria. (See vol. i. p. 460, note [2].)

[17] Hor. *Od.* ii. 11, 16: "Assyriâque nardo."

[18] Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 25:

"Assyrium vulgò nascetur amomum."

Assyrian odours generally.[19] Æschylus has an allusion of the same kind in his Agamemnon.[20] Euripides[21] and Theocritus,[22] who mention respectively Syrian myrrh and Syrian frankincense, probably use the word "Syrian" for "Assyrian."[23] The belief thus implied is not however borne out by inquiry. Neither the spikenard (*Nardostachys Jatamansi*) nor the amomum (*Amomum Cardamomum*), nor the myrrh tree (*Balsamodendron Myrrha*), nor the frankincense tree (*Boswellia thurifera*), nor any other actual spice,[24] is produced within the limits of Assyria, which must always have imported its own spices from abroad, and can only have supplied them to other countries as a carrier. In this capacity she may very probably, even in the time of her early greatness, have conveyed on to the coast of Syria the spicy products of Arabia and India, and thus have created an impression, which afterwards remained as a tradition, that she was a great spice-producer as well as a spice-seller.

In the same way, as a carrier, Assyria may have exported many other commodities. She may have traded with the Phœnicians, not only in her own products, but in the goods which she received from the south and east, from Bactria, India, and the

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[19] Tibull. *Eleg.* i. 3, 7:
"Non soror, Assyrios cineri quæ dedat odores."

[20] Æschyl. *Agam.* l. 1285:
Οὐ Σύριον ἀγλάϊσμα δώμασιν λέγεις.

[21] Eurip. *Bacch.* l. 144:
Συρίας λιβάνου καπνός.

[22] Theocr. *Idyll.* xv. 114:
Συρίῳ δὲ μύρῳ χρύσει' ἀλάβαστρα.

[23] On the indifferent use of the terms "Syrian" and "Assyrian" by the Greeks, see the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 51, 2nd edition.

[24] There are many spicy shrubs and plants in Assyria, such as those noticed by Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 5, § 1); but, I believe, none of the plants which produce the spices of commerce. (See Mr. Ainsworth's *Researches in Assyria*, &c., p. 34.) Strabo, however, it must be admitted, distinctly asserts that *amomum* was produced in Mesopotamia Proper (xvi. p. 1060).

Persian Gulf, such as lapis lazuli, pearls, cinnamon, muslins, shawls, ivory, ebony, cotton. On the other hand she may have conveyed to India, or at least to Babylon, the productions which the Phœnicians brought to Tyre and Sidon from the various countries bordering upon the Mediterranean Sea and even the Atlantic Ocean—as tin, hides, pottery, oil, wine, linen. On this point, however, we have at present no evidence at all; and, as it is not the proper office of an historian to indulge at any length in mere conjecture, the consideration of the commercial dealings of the Assyrians may be here brought to a close.

On the agriculture of the Assyrians a very few remarks will be offered. It has been already explained that the extent of cultivation depended entirely on the conveyance of water.[1] There is good reason to believe that the Assyrians found a way to spread water over almost the whole of their territory. Either by the system of *kanáts* or subterranean acqueducts, which has prevailed in the East from very early times,[2] or by an elaborate network of canals, the fertilising fluid was conveyed to nearly every part of Mesopotamia, which shows by its innumerable mounds in regions which are now deserts, how large a population it was made to sustain under the wise management of the great Assyrian monarchs.[3] Huge dams seem to have been thrown across the Tigris in various

[1] See vol. i. pp. 269-271.

[2] Herodotus indicates some knowledge of the system when he relates that Cambyses' army, in its passage across the desert between Syria and Egypt, was in part supplied with water by means of pipes derived from a distant river which conducted the fluid into cisterns (iii. 9). Polybius says that the plan was widely adopted by the Persians in the time of their empire (x. 28, § 3). Strabo says that the pipes and reservoirs (*σύριγγες* and *ὑδρεῖα*) of Western Asia were popularly ascribed to Semiramis (xvi. 1, § 2).

[3] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. p. 314; *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 241-246.

places, one of which (the *Awai*) still remains,[4] seriously impeding the navigation. It is formed of large masses of squared stone, united together by cramps of iron. Such artificial barriers were intended, not (as Strabo believed[5]) for the protection of the towns upon the river from a hostile fleet, but to raise the level of the stream in order that its water might flow off into canals on one bank or the other, whence they could be spread by means of minor channels over large tracts of territory. The canals themselves have in most cases been gradually filled up. In one instance, however, owing either to the peculiar nature of the soil or to some unexplained cause, we are still able to trace the course of an Assyrian work of this class, and to observe the manner and principles of its construction.

In the tract of land lying between the lower course of the Great Zab river and the Tigris, in which was situated the important town of Calah (now Nimrud), a tract which is partly alluvial but more generally of secondary formation, hard gravel, sandstone, or conglomerate, are the remains of a canal undoubtedly Assyrian,[6] which was carried for a distance of more than five-and-twenty miles from a point on the Khazr or Ghazr Su, a tributary of the Zab, to the south-

[4] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. p. 8. In his *Nineveh and Babylon*, Mr. Layard throws some doubt upon the real purpose of this work, which he inclines to regard as the wall of a town, rather than a dam for purposes of irrigation (p. 466). But Captain Jones thinks the work was certainly a "great dam." (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 343.)

[5] Strab. xvi. 1, § 9. This seems to have been the conjecture of the Greeks who accompanied Alexander. They found the dams impede their own ships, and could not see that they served any other purpose, since the irrigation system had gone to ruin as the Persian Empire declined. (See Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* vii. 7.)

[6] The Assyrian inscription found by Mr. Layard in the tunnel at Negoub, of which he copied a portion imperfectly before its destruction (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. p. 80), sufficiently proves this.

eastern corner of the Nimrud ruins. Originally the canal seems to have been derived from the Zab itself, the water of which was drawn off, on its northern bank, through a short tunnel—the modern Negoub—and then conducted along a cutting, first by the side of the Zab, and afterwards in a tortuous course across the undulating plain, into the ravine formed by the

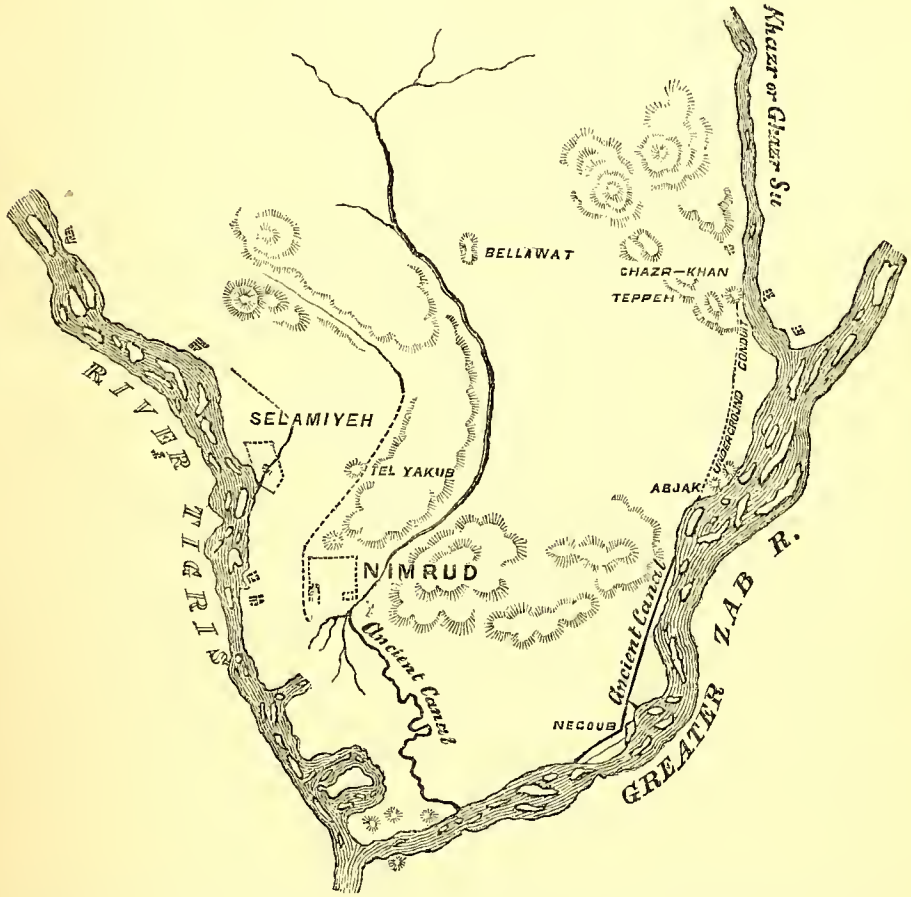

Chart of the district about Nimrud, showing the course of the ancient canal and conduit.

Shor-Derreh torrent. The Zab, when this part of the work was constructed, ran deep along its northern bank, and sending a portion of its waters into the tunnel maintained a constant stream in the canal. But after a while the river abandoned its north bank for the opposite shore; and, water ceasing to flow

through the Negoub tunnel, it became necessary to obtain it in some other way. Accordingly the canal was extended northwards, partly by cutting and partly by tunnelling, to the Ghazr Su at about two miles above its mouth, and a permanent supply was thenceforth obtained from that stream.[7] The work may have been intended in part to supply Calah with mountain water;[8] but the remains of dams and sluices along its course[9] sufficiently show that it was a canal for irrigation also. From it water was probably derived to fertilise the whole triangle lying south of Nimrud between the two streams, a tract containing nearly thirty square miles of territory, mostly very fertile, and with careful cultivation well capable of supporting the almost metropolitan city on which it abutted.

In Assyria it must have been seldom that the Babylonian system of irrigation could have been found applicable, and the water simply derived from the rivers by side cuts, leading it off from the natural channel.[10] There is but little of Assyria which is flat and alluvial; the land generally undulates, and most of it stands at a considerable height above the various streams. The water therefore requires to be raised from the level of the rivers to that of the lands before it can be spread over them, and for this purpose hydraulic machinery of one kind or another is

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[7] See the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. pp. 310, 311.

[8] Captain Jones regards this as its sole object (*Asiatic Society's Journal*, l. s. c.); but Mr. Layard is probably right in his view that irrigation was at least one purpose which the canal was intended to subserve (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. p. 81). Several canals for irrigation seem to have been made by Sennacherib (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 212).

[9] These are "ingeniously formed from the original rock left standing in the centre." (Jones, ut supra.)

[10] Irrigation of this simple kind is applicable to parts of Eastern Assyria, between the Tigris and the mountains. (See Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 224.)

requisite. In cases where the *kanát* or subterranean conduit was employed, the Assyrians probably (like the ancient and the modern Persians[11]) sank wells at intervals, and raised the water from them by means of a bucket and rope, the latter working over a pulley.[12] Where they could obtain a bank of a convenient height overhanging a river, they made use of the hand-swipe,[13] and with its aid lifted the water into a tank or reservoir, whence they could distribute it over their fields. In some instances, it would seem, they brought water to the tops of hills by means of acqueducts, and then constructing a number of small channels, let the fluid trickle down them among their trees and crops.[14] They may have occasionally, like the modern Arabs,[15] employed the labour of an animal to raise the fluid; but the monuments do not furnish us with any evidence of their use of this method. Neither do we find any trace of water-wheels, such as are employed upon the Orontes and other swift rivers, whereby a stream can itself be made to raise water for the land along its banks.[1]

According to Herodotus, the kinds of grain cultivated in Assyria in his time were wheat, barley, sesame, and millet.[2] As these still constitute at the

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[11] For the ancient practice, see Polyb. *l. s. c.* For the modern compare Malcolm, *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 14; Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. ii. p. 657.

[12] See the representation in vol. i. p. 499.

[13] See Layard's *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 15, and compare the first volume of this work, p. 271.

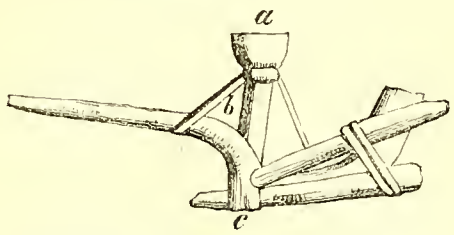
[14] An instance of this mode of irrigation appears on a slab of the Lower Empire, part of which is represented in vol. i. p. 388.

[15] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. pp. 353, 354.

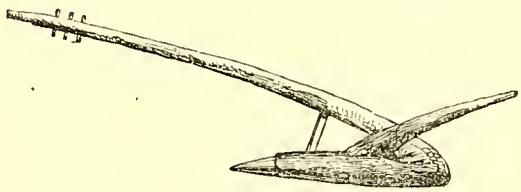
[1] Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 400. Abulfeda says that the Orontes acquired its name of *El Asi*, "the rebel," from its refusal to water the lands unless compelled by water-wheels (*Tabl. Syr.* pp. 149, 150, ed. Köhler). The wheels upon the Rhone below Geneva will be familiar to most readers.

[2] Herod. i. 193.

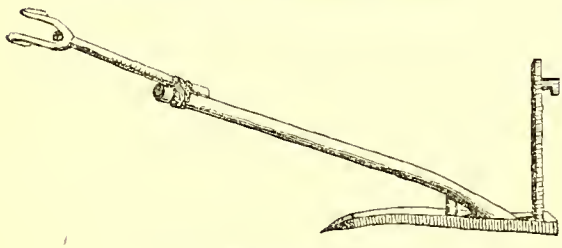
present day the principal agricultural products of the country,[3] we may conclude that they were in all probability the chief species cultivated under the Empire. The plough used, if we may judge by the single representation of it which has come down to us,[4] was of a rude and primitive construction, a construction, however, which will bear comparison with that of the implements to this day in use through modern Turkey and Persia.[5] Of other agricultural implements we have no specimens at all, unless the square instrument with a small circle or wheel at each corner, which appears on the same monument as the plough,



No. I. Assyrian drill-plough (from Lord Aberdeen's Black Stone).



No. II. Modern Turkish plough.



No. III. Modern Arab plough.

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[3] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 423.

[4] Mr. Layard calls this plough Babylonian rather than Assyrian (ib. p. 422). But the black stone on which it is engraved is a monument of Esarhaddon's. There is a representation of an instrument, which I believe to be a plough, on a cylinder (probably Assyrian), figured by M. Lajard (*Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xxxiv. No. 15). But the markings are very indistinct. The cylinder, however, is important in one respect. It shows us that the Assyrians ploughed with two oxen, which they placed in a team, not abreast.

[5] See Fellows's *Asia Minor*, p. 71, and compare his *Lycia*, p. 174. See also C. Niebuhr's *Description de l'Arabie*, opp. p. 137. The chief point in which the Assyrian plough, as above represented, differs from the ordinary models, is in the existence of an apparatus (*a b*) for *drilling* the seed. It is evident that the bowl *a* was filled with grain, which ran down the pipe *b*, and entered the ground immediately after the ploughshare, at the point *c*.

may be regarded as intended for some farming purpose.

Besides grain, it seems certain that the Assyrians cultivated the vine. The vine will grow well in many parts of Assyria;[6] and the monuments represent vines, with a great deal of truth, not merely as growing in the countries to which the Assyrians made their expeditions, but as cultivated along the sides of the rivers near Nineveh,[7] and in the gardens belonging to the palaces of the kings.[8] In the former case they appear to grow without any support, and are seen in orchards intermixed with other fruit-trees, as pomegranates and figs. In the latter they are trained upon tall trees resembling firs, round whose stems they twine themselves, and from which their rich clusters droop. Sometimes the long lithe boughs pass across from tree to tree, forming a canopy under which the monarch and his consort sip their wine.[9]

Before concluding this chapter a few remarks will be added upon the ordinary private life of the Assyrians, so far as the monuments reveal it to us. Under this head will be included their dress, their food, their houses, furniture, utensils, carriages, &c., their various kinds of labour, and the implements of labour which were known to them.

The ordinary dress of the common people in Assyria was a mere plain tunic, or shirt, reaching from the neck to a little above the knee, with very short sleeves, and confined round the waist by a broad belt

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[6] See vol. i. p. 274, note [7]. To the places there mentioned I may add the vicinity of Bavian, on the authority of some MS. notes communicated to me by Mr. Berrington.

[7] Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pls. 14, 15, and 17.

[8] See above, vol. i. p. 439.

[9] See the representation given above, p. 107.

or girdle.[10] Nothing was worn either upon the head or upon the feet. The thick hair, carried in large waves from the forehead to the back of the head and then carefully arranged in three, four, or five rows of stiff curls, was regarded as a sufficient protection both from sun and rain. No head covering was ever worn, except by soldiers, and by certain officials, as the king, priests, and musicians. Sometimes, if the hair was very luxuriant, it was confined by a band or fillet, which was generally tied behind the back of the head. The beard was worn long, and arranged with great care, the elaboration being pretty nearly the same in the case of the king and of the common labourer. Labourers of a rank a little above the lowest wore sandals, indulged in a fringed tunic, and occasionally in a phillibeg; while a still higher class had the fringed tunic and phillibeg, together with the close-fitting trouser and boot worn by soldiers.[11] These last are frequently eunuchs, who probably belonged to a corps of eunuch labourers in the employ of the king.

Persons of the humbler labouring class wear no ornament, neither armlet, bracelet, nor ear-rings. Armlets and bracelets mark high rank, and indeed are rarely found unless the wearer is either an officer of the court, or at any rate a personage of some consideration. Ear-rings seem to have descended lower. They are worn by the attendants on sportsmen, by musicians, by cavalry soldiers, and even occasionally by foot soldiers. In this last case they are seldom more than a simple ring, which may have been of

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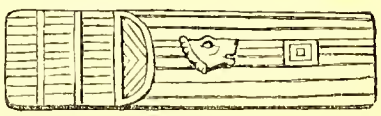
[10] See, for instance, the fishermen, *supra*, pp. 147 and 148.

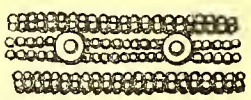
[11] Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 17; *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 108 and 134.

bronze or of bone. In other cases the ring mostly supports a long pendant.[12]

Men of rank appear to have worn commonly a long fringed robe reaching nearly to the feet.[13] The sleeves were short, only just covering the shoulder. Down to the waist, the dress closely fitted the form, resembling, so far, a modern jersey; below this there was a slight expansion, but still the scantiness of the robe is very remarkable. It had no folds, and must have greatly interfered with the free play of the limbs, rendering rapid movements almost impossible. A belt or girdle confined it at the waist, which was always patterned, sometimes elaborately. If a sword was carried, as was frequently the case, it was suspended, nearly in a horizontal position, by a belt over the left shoulder, to which it was attached by a ring, or rings, in the sheath.[1] There is often great elegance in these cross-belts, which look as if they were embroidered with pearls or beads. Fillets, ear-rings, armlets, and (in most instances) bracelets were also worn by Assyrians of the upper classes. The armlets are commonly simple bands, twisted round the arm once or twice, and often overlapping at the ends, which are plain, not ornamented. The bracelets are of slighter construction; their ends do not meet; they would seem to have been of thin metal, and sufficiently elastic to be slipped over the hand on to the wrist,



Ornamental belt or girdle (Koyunjik).



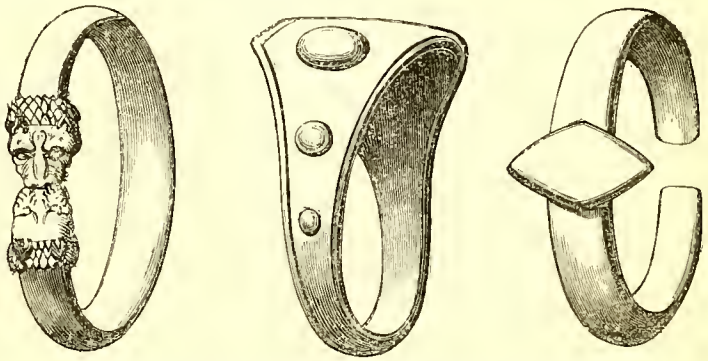
Ornamental cross-belt (Khorsabad).

[12] For specimens of ear-rings, see vol. i. p. 461.

[13] This robe closely resembled the under-garment of the monarch. See above, p. 105.

[1] Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, vol. ii. Pls. 111 to 114; Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 32.

which they then fitted closely. Generally they were quite plain; but sometimes, like the royal bracelets, they bore in their centre a rosette.[2] Sandals, or in the later times shoes, completed the ordinary costume of the Assyrian "gentleman."



Armlets of Assyrian grandees (Khorsabad).

Sometimes both the girdle round the waist, and the cross-belt, which was often worn without a sword, were deeply fringed, the two fringes falling one over the other, and covering the whole body from the chest to the knee.[3] Sometimes, but more rarely, the long robe was discarded, and the Assyrian of some rank wore the short tunic, which was then, however, always fringed, and commonly ornamented with a phillibeg.[4]

Certain peculiar head-dresses and peculiar modes of arranging the hair deserve special attention from their singularity. They belong in general to musicians, priests, and other official personages, and may perhaps have been badges of office. For instance, musicians sometimes wear on their heads a tall stiff cap shaped like a fish's tail;[5] at other times their head-dress is a sort of tiara of feathers.[6] Their

[2] Botta, Pls. 12 and 14.
[3] Ibid. Pls. 60 to 66, 110.
[4] Layard, l. s. c.; Botta, Pls. 108, 109, and 111.
[5] See Woodcut, No. I., on the next page. Two instances of this remarkable cap occur in the British Museum sculptures. Both are from Sennacherib's palace at Koyunjik.
[6] See the illustration on page 155.

hair is generally arranged in the ordinary Assyrian fashion; but sometimes it is worn comparatively

No. III. Cap of the king's cook (Koyunjik).

No. I. Fish-cap of Assyrian musician (Koyunjik).

No. II. Tall cap of Assyrian priest (Koyunjik).

short, and terminates in a double row of crisp curls.[7] Priests have head-dresses shaped like truncated cones.[8] A cook, in one instance,[9] wears a cap not unlike the tiara of the monarch, except that it is plain and is not surmounted by an apex or peak. A harper has the head covered with a close-fitting cap, encircled with a row of large beads or pearls, from which a lappet depends behind, similarly ornamented.[10] A colossal figure in a doorway, apparently a man, though possibly representing a god, has the hair arranged in six monstrous curls, the lowest three resting upon the shoulder.[11]

Curious mode of arranging the hair (Koyunjik).

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[7] Botta, vol. i. Pl. 67. See above, p. 154.

[8] Layard, 2nd Series, Pls. 24 and 50.

[9] Layard, 1st Series, Pl. 30.

[10] This curious head-dress occurs on a slab from the palace of Asshur-bani-pal at Koyunjik, which is now in the British Museum.

[11] Mr. Layard has a representation of this figure, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 6.

Women of the better sort seem to have been dressed in sleeved gowns, less scanty than those of the men, and either striped or else patterned and fringed. Outside this they sometimes wore a short cloak of the same pattern as the gown, open in front and falling over the arms, which it covered nearly to the elbows. Their hair was either arranged over the whole of the head in short crisp curls, or carried back in waves to the ears, and then in part twisted into long pendent ringlets, in part curled, like that of the men, in three or four rows at the back of the neck. A girdle was probably worn round the waist such as we see in the representations of goddesses,[12] while a fringed cross-belt passed diagonally across the breast, being carried under the right arm and over the left shoulder. The feet seem to have been naked, or at best protected by a sandal. The head was sometimes encircled with a fillet.

Female seated. (From an ivory in the British Museum.)

Women thus appareled are either represented as sitting in chairs and drinking from a shallow cup, or else as gathering grapes, which, instead of growing naturally, hang upon branches that issue from a

[12] *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 65.

winged circle. The circle would seem to be emblematic of the divine power which bestows the fruits of the earth upon man.

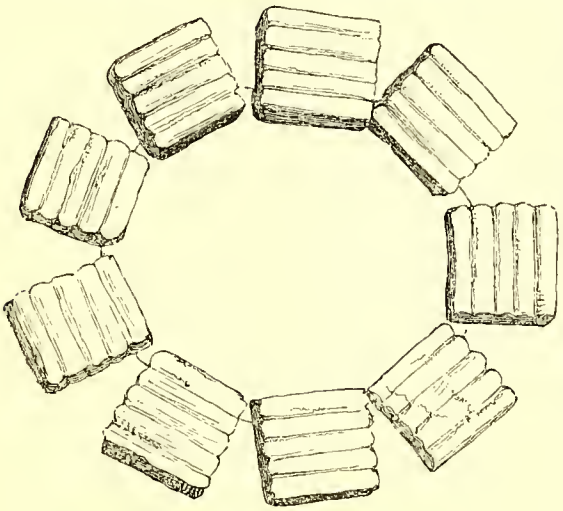
Females gathering grapes. (From some ivory fragments in the British Museum.)

The lower class of Assyrian women are not represented upon the sculptures. We may perhaps presume that they did not dress very differently from the female captives so frequent on the bas-reliefs, whose ordinary costume is a short gown not covering the ankles, and an outer garment somewhat resembling the chasuble of the king.[13] The head of these women is often covered with a hood: where

[13] See the illustration, supra, p. 91.

the hair appears, it usually descends in a single long curl. The feet are in every case naked.

The ornaments worn by women appear to have been nearly the same as those assumed by men. They consisted principally of ear-rings, necklaces, and bracelets. Ear-rings have been found in gold and in bronze, some with and some without places for jewels. One gold ear-ring still held its adornment of pearls.[14]



Necklace of flat beads (British Museum).

Bracelets were sometimes of glass, and were slipped over the hand. Necklaces seem commonly to have been of beads, strung together. A necklace in the British Museum is composed of glass beads of a light blue colour, square in shape and flat, with horizontal flutings. Glass finger-rings have also been found, which were probably worn by women.

We have a very few remains of Assyrian toilet articles. A bronze disk, about five inches in diameter, with a long handle attached, is thought to have been a mirror. In its general shape it resembles both the Egyptian and the classical mirrors;[15] but unlike them it is perfectly plain, even the handle being a mere flat bar.[16] We have also a few combs. One of these

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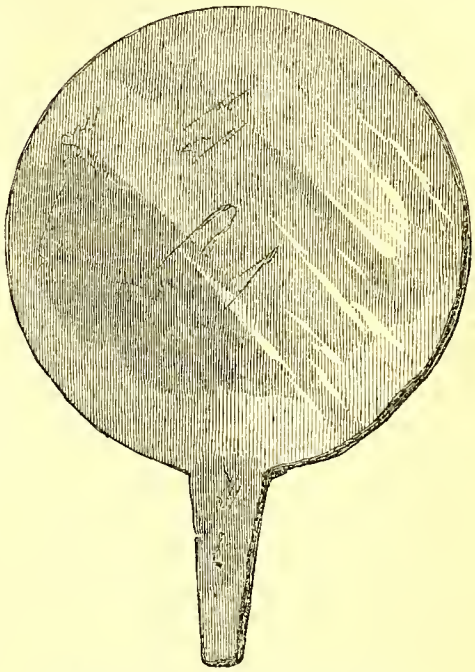
[14] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 595.

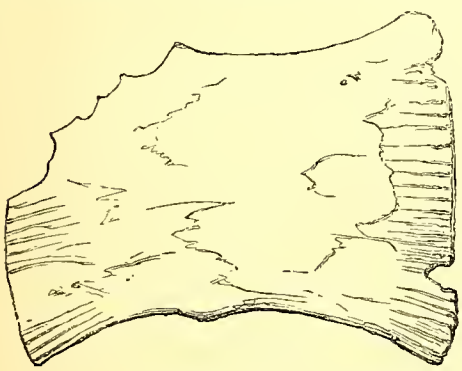
[15] See Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, 1st Series, vol. iii. pp. 585, 586; and Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, ad. voc. SPECULUM, p. 1053, 2nd col.

[16] A handle of a mirror found by

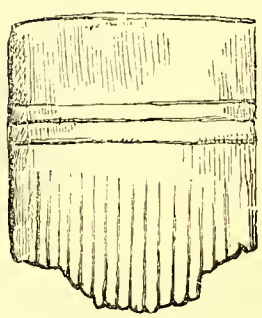
is of iron, about three and a half inches long, by two inches broad in the middle. It is double, like a modern small-tooth comb, but does not present the feature, common in Egypt,[17] of a difference in the size of the teeth on the two sides. The very ancient use of this toilet article in Mesopotamia is evidenced by the fact, already noticed,[18] that it was one of the original hieroglyphs, whence the later letters were derived. Another comb is of lapis lazuli, and has only a single row of teeth. The small vases of alabaster or fine clay, and the small glass bottles, which have been discovered in tolerable abundance,[19] were



Metal mirror (British Museum).



Iron comb.
(British Museum).



Fragment of comb in lapis lazuli.
(British Museum).

Mr. Layard at Nimrud was slightly ornamented (*Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 96, fig. 11).

[17] Wilkinson, 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 380.

[18] Supra, vol. i. p. 82

[19] Supra, vol. i. p. 483.

also in all probability intended chiefly for the toilet. They would hold the perfumed unguents which the Assyrians, like other Orientals,[20] were doubtless in the habit of using, and the dyes wherewith they sought to increase the beauty of the countenance.[21]

No doubt the luxury of the Assyrian women in these and other respects was great and excessive. They are not likely to have fallen short of their Jewish sisters either in the refinements or in the corruptions of civilization. When then we hear of "the tinkling ornaments" of the Jewish women in Isaiah's time, "their combs, and round tires like the moon," their "chains and bracelets and mufflers," their "bonnets, and ornaments of the legs, and head-bands, and tablets, and ear-rings," their "rings and nose-jewels," their "changeable suits of apparel, and mantles, and wimples, and crisping-pins," their "glasses, and fine linen, and hoods, and veils," their "sweet smells, and girdles, and well-set hair, and stomachers,"[1] we may be sure that in Assyria too these various refinements, or others similar to them, were in use, and consequently that the art of the toilet was tolerably well advanced under the second great Asiatic Empire. That the monuments contain little evidence on the point need not cause any surprise; since it is the natural consequence of the

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[20] As the Persians (Plin. *H. N.* xiii. 1), the Egyptians (Juv. xv. 50), the Parthians (Plin. *H. N.* xiii. 2), the Syrians (Athen. *Deipn.* xii. 35; Hor. *Od.* ii. 7, l. 8), and the Jews (Eccl. ix. 8; Luke vii. 46, &c.).

[21] Diod. Sic. ii. 23, § 1. In some of the bas-reliefs both the upper and the under eyelids are painted black. See above, vol. i. p. 453, and compare Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 92.

[1] Isaiah iii. 18-24. It is not to be supposed that the words of the original in this passage are throughout correctly translated. Indeed the margin shows how doubtful many of them are. But there is no reason to question that they all represent different articles of the dress or toilet of women.

spirit of jealous reserve, common to the Oriental nations, which makes them rarely either represent women in their mimetic art or speak of them in their public documents.[2]

If various kinds of grain were cultivated in Assyria, such as wheat, barley, sesame, and millet,[3] we may assume that the food of the inhabitants, like that of other agricultural nations, consisted in part of bread. Sesame was no doubt used, as it is at the present day, principally for making oil;[4] while wheat, barley, and millet were employed for food, and were made into cakes or loaves. The grain used, whatever it was, would be ground between two stones,[5] according to the universal Oriental practice even at the present day.[6] It would then be moistened with water, kneaded in a dish or bowl, and either rolled into thin cakes or pressed by the hand into small balls or loaves.[7] Bread and cakes made in this way still form the chief food of the Arabs of these parts, who retain the habits of antiquity. Wheaten bread is generally eaten by preference;[8] but the poorer sort are compelled to be content with the coarse millet,[9]

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[2] See above, page 107.

[3] See vol. i. p. 272, note [6], and supra, p. 198.

[4] Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, p. 295; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 423. For the ancient practice, compare Herod. i. 193, and Strab. xvi. 1, § 14.

[5] "Come down, sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground . . . . Take the millstones, and grind meal." (Is. xlvii. 1, 2.)

[6] Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* pp. 285-287; Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 45, &c.

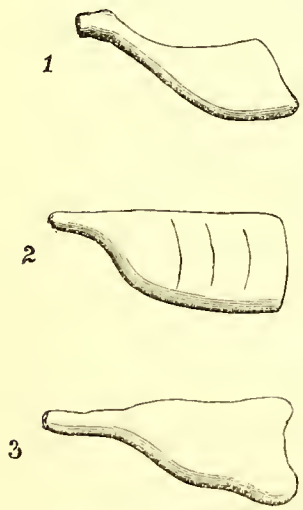
[7] I doubt whether there is any representation of bread in the sculptures. The circular object on the table in the banquet-scene given below (p. 214) might represent a loaf, but it is more probably a sacred emblem. The Arab practice, which probably corresponds with the most ancient mode of preparing bread, is as given in the text. See Layard, l. s. c., and compare the article on BREAD, in Dr. Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*.

[8] Layard, p. 289.

[9] Niebuhr, *Description, &c.*, p. 45; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. p. 360.

or *durra*, flour, which is made into cakes and then eaten with milk, butter, oil, or the fat of animals.

Dates, the principal support of the inhabitants of Chaldæa, or Babylonia, both in ancient and in modern times,[10] were no doubt also an article of food in Assyria, though scarcely to any great extent. The date-palm does not bear well above the alluvium, and such fruit as it produces in the upper country is very little esteemed.[11] Olives were certainly cultivated under the Empire,[12] and the oil extracted from them was in great request. Honey was abundant, and wine plentiful. Sennacherib called his land "a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil olive and of honey;"[13] and the products here enumerated were probably those which formed the chief sustenance of the bulk of the people.



Assyrian joints.
1. Shoulder. 2. Loin.
3. Leg.

Meat, which is never eaten to any great extent in the East,[14] was probably beyond the means of most persons. Soldiers, however, upon an expedition were able to obtain this dainty at the expense of others; and accordingly we find that on such occasions they freely indulged in it. We see them, after their victories, killing and cutting up sheep and oxen,[15] and then roast-

[10] See above, vol. i. pp. 134, 135.

[11] Plin. *H. N.* xiii. 4.

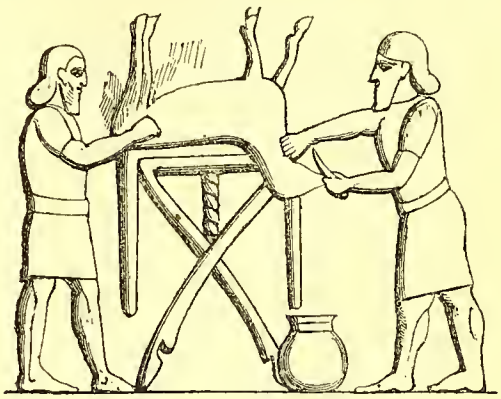
[12] 2 Kings xviii. 32. "A land of oil olive." When Herodotus denies the cultivation of the olive in his day (i. 193), as also that of the fig and the grape, he must refer to the low alluvial country, which is more properly Babylonia than Assyria.

[13] 2 Kings, l. s. c.

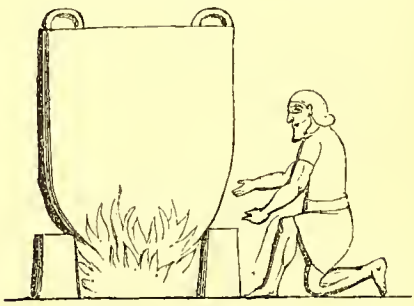
[14] "On mange peu de viande dans les pays chauds, où on les croit malsaines." (Niebuhr, p. 46.) "The common Bedouin can rarely get meat." (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 289.)

[15] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 75 and 76; 2nd Series, Pl. 36.

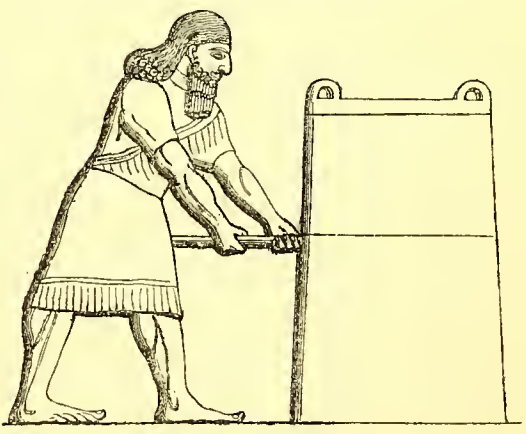
ing the joints, which are not unlike our own, on the embers of a wood fire.[16] In the representations of entrenched camps we are shown the mode in which animals were prepared for the royal dinner. They were placed upon their backs on a high table, with their heads hanging over its edge; one man held them steady in this position, while another, taking hold of the neck, cut the throat a little below the chin.[17] The blood dripped into a bowl or basin placed beneath the head on the ground. The animal was then, no doubt, paunched, after which it was placed—either whole, or in joints—in a huge pot or caldron, and, a fire being lighted underneath, it was boiled to such a point as suited the taste of the king. While the boiling progressed, some portions were perhaps fried on the fire below. Mutton appears to have been the favourite meat in the camp. At the court there



Killing the sheep (Koyunjik).



Cooking meat in caldron (Koyunjik).



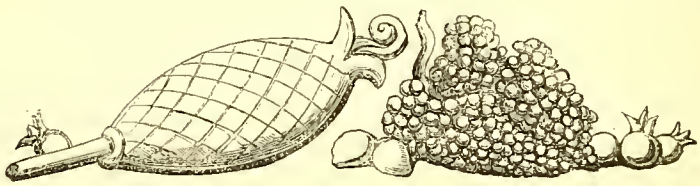
Frying (Nimrud.)

[16] *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pls. 35 and 36.

[17] Ibid. Pl. 36.

would be a supply of venison, antelope's flesh, hares, partridges, and other game, varied perhaps occasionally with such delicacies as the flesh of the wild ox and the onager.

Fish must have been an article of food in Assyria, or the monuments would not have presented us with so many instances of fishermen.[18] Locusts were also eaten, and were accounted a delicacy, as is proved by their occurrence among the choice dainties of a banquet, which the royal attendants are represented in one bas-relief as bringing into the palace of the king.[19] Fruits, as was natural in so hot a climate, were highly prized; among those of most repute were pomegranates, grapes, citrons,[20] and, apparently, pine-apples.[21]



Assyrian fruits (from the Monuments).

There is reason to believe that the Assyrians drank wine very freely. The vine was cultivated extensively, in the neighbourhood of Nineveh and elsewhere;[1] and though there is no doubt that grapes were eaten, both raw and dried, still the main pur-

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[18] See above, pp. 146, 147, and 148.

[19] Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pls. 8 and 9; *Nin. and Bab.* p. 338. Mr. Layard notes that "the locust has ever been an article of food in the East, and is still sold in the markets of many towns in Arabia." He quotes Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins*, p. 269, with respect to the way they are prepared. A recent traveller, who tasted them fried, observes that they are "like what one would suppose fried shrimps," and "by no means bad." (See Yule's *Mission to the Court of Ava*, p. 114.)

[20] Plin. *H. N.* xii. 3.

[21] The representation is so exact that I can scarcely doubt the pine-apple being intended. Mr. Layard expresses himself on the point with some hesitation. (*Nin. and Bab.* p. 338.)

[1] Supra, p. 199.

pose of the vineyards was unquestionably the production of wine. Assyria was "a land of corn and wine," emphatically and before all else.[2] Great banquets seem to have been frequent at the court,[3] as at the courts of Babylon and Persia,[4] in which drinking was practised on a large scale. The Ninevites generally are reproached as drunkards by Nahum.[5] In the banquet-scenes of the sculptures, it is drinking and not eating that is represented. Attendants dip the wine-cups into a huge bowl or vase, which stands on the ground and reaches as high as a man's chest,[6] and carry them full of liquor to the guests, who straightway fall to a carouse.

The arrangement of the banquets is curious. The guests, who are in one instance some forty or fifty in number,[7] instead of being received at a common table, are divided into messes of four, who sit together, two and two, facing each other, each mess having its own table and its own attendant. The guests are all clothed in the long tasseled gown, over which they wear the deeply fringed belt and cross-belt. They have sandals on their feet, and on their arms armlets and bracelets. They sit on high stools, from which their legs dangle; but in no case have they footstools, which would apparently have been a great convenience. Most of the guests are bearded men, but intermixed with them were a few eunuchs.[8]

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[2] 2 Kings xviii. 32.

[3] Diod. Sic. ii. 20; Botta, *Monument*, Pls. 51 to 67, and 107 to 114.

[4] Dan. v. 1; Esther i. 3; Herod. ix. 110.

[5] Nahum i. 10. "While they are drunken as drunkards, they shall be devoured, as stubble fully dry."

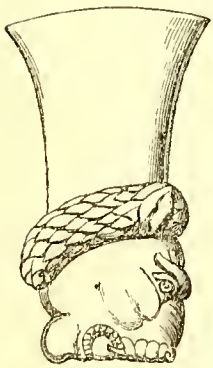
[6] This vase is represented, vol. i. p. 481.

[7] Forty guests were still to be traced at the time of M. Botta's discoveries, while many slabs were even then so injured that their subject could not be made out. Along the line of wall occupied by the banqueting-scene, there was ample room for twenty more guests.

[8] In M. Flandin's drawings this does not appear; but M. Botta is

Drinking scene (Khorsabad).

Every guest holds in his right hand a wine-cup of a most elegant shape, the lower part modelled into the form of a lion's head, from which the cup itself rises in a graceful curve. They all raise their cups to a level with their heads, and look as if they were either pledging each other, or else one and all drinking the same toast. Both the stools and the tables are handsome, and tastefully though not very richly ornamented. Each table is overspread with a table-cloth, which hangs down on either side opposite the guests, but does not cover the ends of the table, which are thus fully exposed to view. In their general make the tables exactly resemble that used in a banquet-scene by a king of a later date,[9] but



Ornamental wine-cup (Khorsabad).

confident that it was so in the sculptures themselves. (*Monument*, vol. v. p. 131.)

[9] See the representation, p. 107.

their ornamentation is much less elaborate. On each of them appears to have been placed the enigmatical article of which mention has been already made as a strange object generally accompanying the king.[10] Alongside of it we see in most instances a sort of rude crescent.[11] These objects have probably, both of them, a sacred import, the crescent being the emblem of Sin, the Moon-God,[12] while the nameless article had some unknown religious use or meaning.

In the great banqueting scene at Khorsabad from which the above description is chiefly taken, it is shown that the Assyrians, like the Egyptians and the Greeks in the heroic times,[13] had the entertainment of music at their grand feasts and drinking bouts. At one end of the long series of figures representing guests and attendants was a band of performers, at least three in number, two of whom certainly played upon the lyre.[14] The lyres were ten-stringed, of a square shape, and hung round the player's neck by a string or riband.

The Assyrians also resembled the Greeks and Romans[15] in introducing flowers into their feasts. We have no evidence that they wore garlands, or crowned themselves with chaplets of flowers, or scattered roses over their rooms, but still they

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[10] Supra, p. 109.

[11] M. Botta speaks as if the objects had been different on the different tables (*Monument*, l. s. c.); but M. Flandin's drawings show scarcely any variety. The condition of the slabs was very bad, and the objects on the tables could scarcely ever be distinctly made out.

[12] See vol. i. p. 157, and infra, p. 249.

[13] For the Egyptian practice, see Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, 1st Series, vol. ii. p. 222; for that of the Greeks, compare Hom. *Od.* i. 150-155; Athen. *Deipn.* xiv. 6. &c.

[14] One of these has been already represented, supra, p. 154. The figure of the third musician was so much injured that his instrument could not be made out. There was room for two or three more performers. (Botta, Pl. 67.)

[15] Athen. *Deipn.* xv. 10; Hor. *Od.* iii. 19, l. 22; i. 37, l. 15; Ov. *Fast.* v. 337, &c.

appreciated the delightful adornment which flowers furnish. In the long train of attendants represented at Koyunjik as bringing the materials of a banquet into the palace of the king, a considerable number bear vases of flowers. These were probably placed on stands, like those which are often seen supporting jars,[16] and dispersed about the apartment in which the feast was held, but not put upon the tables.

Attendant bringing flowers to a banquet (Koyunjik).

We have no knowledge of the ordinary houses of the Assyrians other than that which we derive from the single representation which the sculptures furnish of a village certainly Assyrian.[17] It appears from this specimen that the houses were small, isolated from one another, and either flat-roofed or else covered in with a dome or a high cone. They had no windows, but must have been lighted from the top, where, in some of the roofs, an aperture is discernible. The doorway was generally placed towards one end of the house; it was sometimes arched, but more often square-headed.

The doors in Assyrian houses were either single, as commonly with ourselves, or folding (*fores* or

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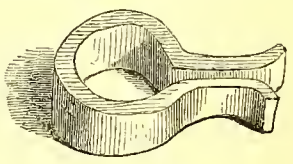
[16] See vol. i. pp. 480 and 490.

[17] See vol. i. p. 403, where this village is represented.

valvæ), as with the Greeks and Romans, and with the modern French and Italians. Folding doors were the most common in palaces.[1] They were not hung upon hinges, like modern doors, but, like those of the classical nations,[2] turned upon pivots. At Khorsabad the pavement slabs in the doorways showed everywhere the holes in which these pivots had worked, while in no instance did the wall at the side present any trace of the insertion of a hinge.[3] Hinges, however, in the proper sense of the term, were not unknown to the Assyrians; for two massive bronze sockets found at Nimrud, which weighed more than six pounds each and had a diameter of about five inches,[4] must have been designed to receive the hinges of a door or gate, hung exactly as gates are now hung among ourselves. The folding doors were fastened by bolts, which were shot into the pavement at the point where the two doors met; but in the case of single doors a lock seems to have been used, which was placed about four feet from the ground, and projected from the door itself, so that a recess had to be made in the wall behind the door, to receive the lock when the door stood open.[5] The bolt of the lock was of an oblong square shape, and was shot into the wall against which the door closed.[6]



Socket of hinge (Nimrud).

The ordinary character of Assyrian furniture did not greatly differ from the furniture of modern times. That of the poorer classes was for the most part

[1] See Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, vols. i. and ii. *passim*.

[2] *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, ad. voc. CARDO.

[3] Botta, vol. v. p. 45.

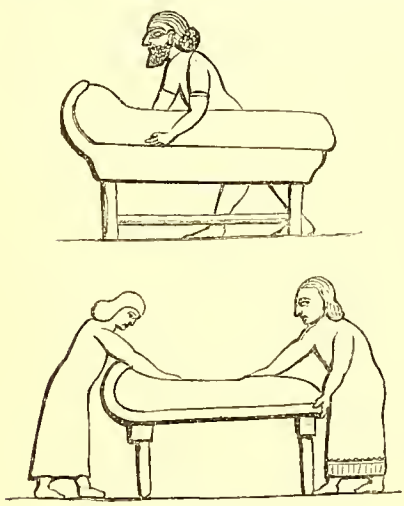
[4] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 163.

[5] Botta, *Monument*, vol. ii. Pl. 136; and vol. v. p. 48.

[6] Ibid. vol. ii. Pl. 123.

extremely plain, consisting probably of such tables, couches, and low stools as we see in the representations, which are so frequent, of the interiors of soldiers' tents.[7] In these the tables are generally of the cross-legged kind; the couches follow the pattern given in the first volume of this work,[8] except that the legs do not end in pine-shaped ornaments; and the stools are either square blocks or merely cut *en chevron*.[9] There are no chairs. The low stools evidently form the ordinary seats of the people, on which they sit to converse or to rest themselves. The couches seem to have been the beds whereon the soldiers slept, and it may be doubted if the Assyrians knew of any other. In the case of the monarch we have seen that the bedding consisted of a mattrass, a large round pillow or cushion, and a coverlet;[10] but in these simple couches of the poor we observe only a mattrass, the upper part of which is slightly raised and fitted into the curvature of the arm, so as to make a substitute for a pillow. Perhaps, however, the day-labourer may have enjoyed on a couch of

Assyrians seated on stools (Koyunjik).



Making the bed (Koyunjik).

[7] Supra, p. 73. Further examples will be found in Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 77; 2nd Series, Pls. 24, 36, and 50; and in M. Botta's *Monument*, Pl. 146.

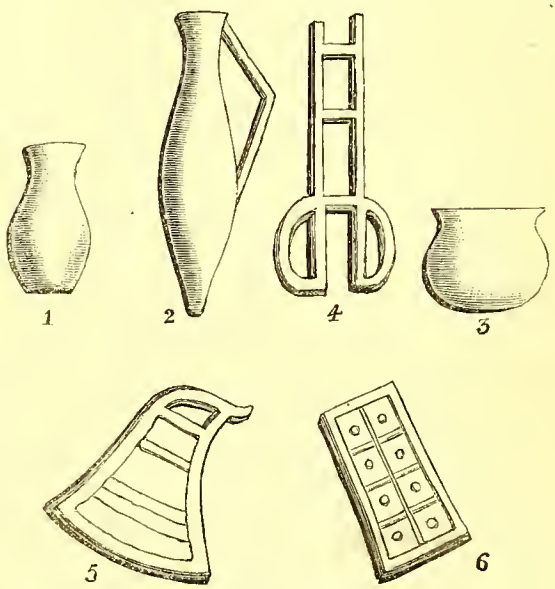
[8] Page 489.

[9] See the footstool, No. I., on the same page.

[10] Supra, p. 108.

this simple character slumbers sounder and more refreshing than Sardanapalus amid his comparative luxury.

The household utensils seen in combination with these simple articles of furniture are few and somewhat rudely shaped. A jug with a long neck, an angular handle, and a pointed bottom is common: it usually hangs from a nail or hook inserted into the tent-pole. Vases and bowls of a simple form occur, but are less frequent. The men are seen with knives in their hands, and appear sometimes to be preparing food for their meals;[11] but the form of the knife is marked very indistinctly. Some of the household articles represented have a strange and unusual appearance. One is a sort of short ladder, but with semicircular projections at the bottom, the use of which is not apparent; another may be a board at which some game was played;[12] while a third is quite inexplicable.



Domestic utensils.

1. Vase. 2. Jug. 3. Bowl. 4 and 5. Unknown implements. 6. Board for playing a game. (?)

From actual discoveries of the utensils themselves, we know that the Assyrians used dishes of stone,

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[11] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 77: 2nd Series, Pls. 24 and 36.

[12] Compare the Egyptian boards, as represented in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 276, 277, 2nd ed.

alabaster, and bronze. They had also bronze cups, bowls, and plates, often elaborately patterned.[13] The dishes were commonly made with a handle at the side, either fixed or moveable, by which, when not in use, they could be carried or hung on pegs.

Dish handles (Nimrud).

Caldrons of bronze were also common: they varied from five feet to eighteen inches in height, and from two feet and a half to six feet in diameter.[14] Jugs, funnels, ladles, and jars have been found in the same metal; one of the funnels is shaped nearly like a modern wine-strainer.[15]

Bronze ladle (Nimrud).

The Assyrians made use of bronze bells with iron tongues,[1] and, to render the sound of these more pleasing, they increased the proportion of the tin to the copper, raising it from ten to fourteen per cent. The bells were always of small size, never (so far as appears) exceeding three and a quarter inches in height, and two and a quarter inches in diameter. It is uncertain whether they were used, as modern bells, to summon attendants, or only attached, as we see them on the sculptures,[2] to the collars and headstalls of horses.

Some houses, but probably not very many, had

[13] See above, vol. i. p. 457.
[14] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 177-180.
[15] Ibid. p. 181.
[1] Ibid. p. 177. Compare also pp. 191 and 671.
[2] Supra, pp. 14 and 15.

gardens attached to them. The Assyrian taste in gardening was like that of the French. Trees of a similar character, or tall trees alternating with short ones, were planted in straight rows at an equal distance from one another, while straight paths and walks, meeting each other at right angles, traversed the grounds.[3] Water was abundantly supplied by means of canals drawn off from a neighbouring river, or was brought by an acqueduct from a distance.[4] A national taste of a peculiar kind, artificial and extravagant to a degree, caused the Assyrians to add to the cultivation of the natural ground the monstrous invention of "Hanging Gardens:" an invention introduced into Babylonia at a comparatively late date, but known in Assyria as early as the time of Sennacherib.[5] A "hanging garden" was sometimes combined with an acqueduct, the banks of the stream which the acqueduct bore being planted with trees of different kinds.[6] At other times it occupied the roof of a building, probably raised for the purpose, and was supported upon a number of pillars.

Hanging garden (Koyunjik).

The employments of the Assyrians which receive some illustration from the monuments, are, besides war and hunting,—subjects already discussed at length,—chiefly building, boating, and agriculture. Of agricultural labourers, there occur two or three only, introduced by the artist into a slab of Sennacherib's, which represents the transport of a winged

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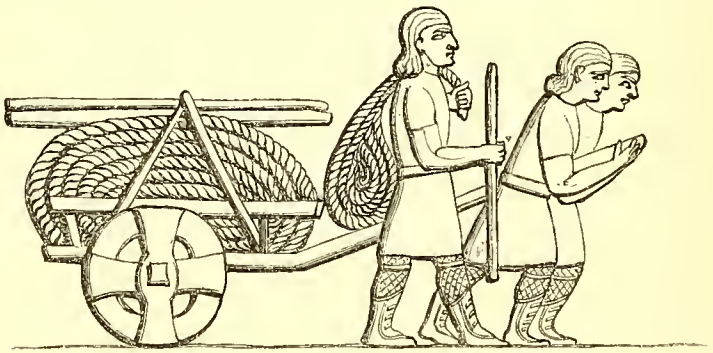
[3] See the representation of a garden in vol. i. of this work, p. 288.

[4] Compare vol. i. p. 388.

[5] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 232, 233.

[6] See vol. i. l. s. c.

bull.[7] They are dressed in the ordinary short tunic and belt, and are employed in drawing water from a river by the help of hand-swipes for the purpose of irrigating their lands.[8] Boatmen are far more common. They are seen employed in the conveyance of masses of stone,[9] and of other materials for building,[10] ferrying men and horses across a river,[11] guiding their boat while a fisherman plies his craft from it,[12] assisting soldiers to pursue the enemy,[13] and the like. They wear the short tunic and belt, and sometimes have their hair encircled with a fillet. Of labourers, employed in work connected with building, the examples are numerous.



Assyrians drawing a hand-cart. (Koyunjik.)

In the long series of slabs representing the construction of some of Sennacherib's great works,[14] although the bulk of those employed as labourers appear to be foreign captives, there are a certain number of the duties—duties less purely mechanical than the others—which are devolved on Assyrians.

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[7] Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 15.

[8] A representation of a labourer thus employed, taken from the slab in question, has been already given, vol. i. p. 271.

[9] See vol. i. p. 421.

[10] Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 12.

[11] Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 232.

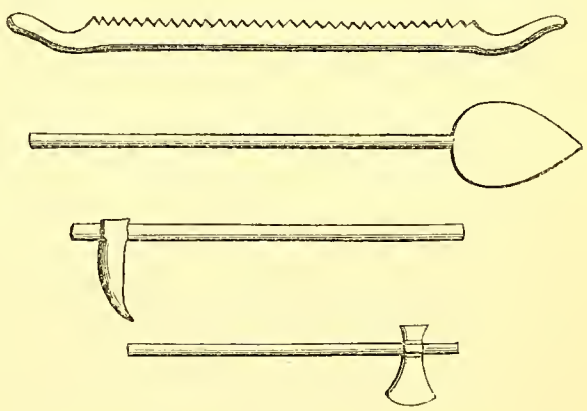
[12] Ibid. p. 231.

[13] Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 27.

[14] Ibid. Pls. 10 to 17.

Assyrians load the hand-carts and sometimes even draw them, convey the implements—pickaxes, saws, shovels, hatchets, beams, forks, coils of ropes—place the rollers, arrange the lever and work it, keep the carved masses of stone steady as they are moved along to their proper places, urge on the gangs of forced labourers with sticks, and finally direct the whole of the proceedings by signals which they give with their voice or with a long horn. Thus, however ample the command of naked human strength enjoyed by the Assyrian king, who had always at his absolute disposal the labour of many thousand captives, still there was in every great work much which could only be intrusted to Assyrians, who appear to have been employed largely in the grand constructions of their monarchs.

The implements of labour have a considerable resemblance to those in present use among ourselves. The saws were two-handed; but as the handle was in the same line with the blade, instead of being set at right angles to it, they must have been somewhat awkward to use. The shovels were heart-shaped, like those which Sir C. Fellows noticed in Asia Minor.[15] The pickaxes had a single, instead of a double, head; while the hatchets were double-headed, though here probably the second head was a mere knob intended



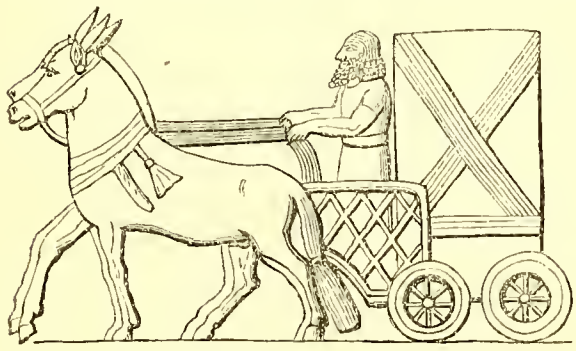
Assyrian implements. (From the Monuments.)

[15] *Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor*, p. 72.

to increase the force of the blow. The hand-carts were small and of very simple construction: they were made open in front and behind, but had a slight framework at the sides. They had a pole, rising a little in front, and were generally drawn by two men. The wheels were commonly four-spoked. When the load had been placed on the cart it seems to have been in general secured by two bands or ropes which were passed over it diagonally so as to cross each other at the top.

Carts drawn by animals were no doubt used in the country; but they are not found except in the scenes representing the triumphant returns of armies, where it is more probable that the vehicles are foreign than Assyrian. They have poles—not shafts—and are drawn by two animals, either oxen, mules, or asses. The wheels have generally a large number of spokes—sometimes as many as eleven. Representations of these carts will be found in the first volume.[16]

The Assyrians appear to have made occasional use of covered carriages. Several vehicles of this kind are represented on an obelisk in the British Museum. They have a high and clumsy body, which shews no window, and is placed on four disproportionately low wheels, which raise it only about a foot from the ground. In front of this body is a small driving-place, enclosed in trellis-work, inside

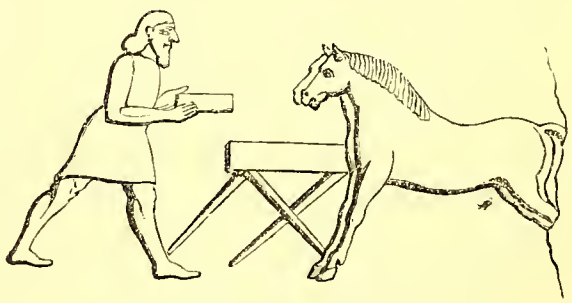


Assyrian close carriage or litter. (From an obelisk in the British Museum.)

[16] Pp. 292 and 304.

which the coachman stands to drive. Each of these vehicles is drawn by two horses. It is probable that they were used to convey the ladies of the court; and they were therefore carefully closed in order that no curious glance of passers-by might rest upon the charming inmates. The *carpentum*, in which the Roman matrons rode at the great public festivals, was similarly closed, both in front and behind, as is evident from the representations which we have of it on medals and tombs.

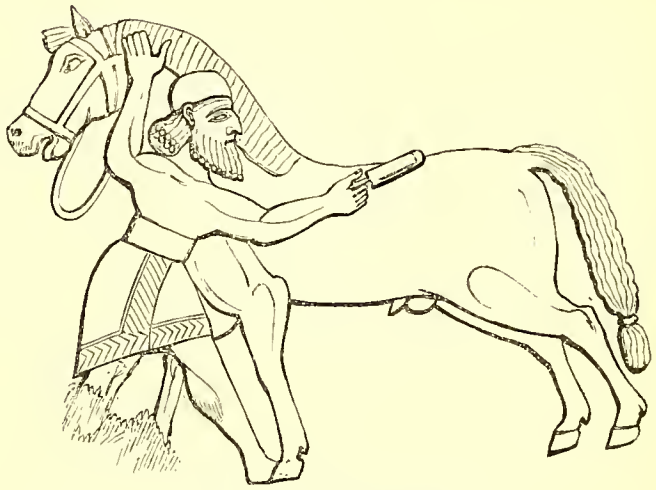
Except in the case of these covered vehicles, and of the chariots used in war and hunting, horses (as already observed[1]) were not employed for draught. The Assyrians appear to have regarded them as too noble for this purpose, unless where the monarch and those near to him were concerned, for whose needs nothing was too precious. On the military expeditions the horses were carefully fed and tended. Portable mangers were taken with the army for their convenience; and their food, which was probably barley, was brought to them by grooms in sieves or shallow boxes, whence no doubt it was transferred to the mangers. They appear to have been allowed to go loose in the camp, without being either hobbled or picketed.[2] Care was taken to keep their coats clean and glossy



Groom feeding horses (Koyunjik).

[1] Supra, vol. i. p. 291, note [7].
[2] See Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 63; 2nd Series, Pls. 24 and 36.

by the use of the currycomb, which was probably of iron.[3]



Groom currycombing a horse.

Halters of two kinds were employed. Sometimes they consisted of a mere simple noose which was placed in the horse's mouth, and then drawn tight round the chin.[4] More often (as in the above woodcut) the rope was attached to a headstall, not unlike that of an ordinary bridle, but simpler, and probably of a cheaper material. Leading reins, fastened to the bit of an ordinary bridle, were also common.[5]

Such are the principal points connected with the peaceful customs of the Assyrians, on which the monuments recently discovered throw a tolerable amount of light. Much still remains in obscurity. It is not possible as yet, without drawing largely on the imagination, to portray in any completeness the private life even of the Assyrian nobles, much less that of the common people. All that can be done is

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[3] No currycomb has been found; but an iron comb, brought from Koyunjik, is now in the British Museum. (See above, p. 207.)

[4] Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pls. 7 and 47.

[5] Ibid. Pls. 19, 24, 29, &c.

to gather up the fragments which time has spared; to arrange them in something like order, and present them faithfully to the general reader, who it is hoped will feel a certain degree of interest in them severally, as matters of archæology, and who will probably further find that he obtains from them in combination a fair notion of the general character and condition of the race, of its mingled barbarism and civilization, knowledge and ignorance, art and rudeness, luxury and simplicity of habits. The novelist and even the essayist may commendably eke out the scantiness of facts by a free indulgence in the wide field of supposition and conjecture; but the historian is not entitled to stray into this enchanted ground. He must be content to remain within the tame and narrow circle of established fact. Where his materials are abundant he is entitled to draw graphic sketches of the general condition of a people; but where they are scanty, as in the present instance, he must be content to forego such pleasant pictures, in which the colouring and the filling up would necessarily be derived, not from authentic data, but from his own fancy.

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGION.

"The graven image, and the molten image."—NAHUM i. 14.

THE religion of the Assyrians so nearly resembled, at least in its external aspect, in which alone we can contemplate it—the religion of the primitive Chaldæans, that it will be unnecessary, after the full treatment which that subject received in the first volume of this work,[1] to do much more than notice in the present place certain peculiarities by which it would appear that the cult of Assyria was distinguished from that of the neighbouring and closely connected country. With the exception that the first god in the Babylonian Pantheon was replaced by a distinct and thoroughly national deity in the Pantheon of Assyria, and that certain deities whose position was prominent in the one occupied a subordinate position in the other, the two religious systems may be pronounced, not similar merely, but identical. Each of them, without any real monotheism,[2] commences with the same pre-eminence of a single deity, which is followed by the same groupings of actually

[1] See vol. i. ch. vii. pp. 138-188.

[2] Though *Il* or *Ra* in Chaldæa, and Asshur in Assyria, were respectively *chief* gods, they were in no sense *sole* gods. Not only are the other deities viewed as really distinct beings, but they are in many cases self-originated, and always supreme in their several spheres.

the same divinities;[3] and, after that, by a multitudinous polytheism, which is chiefly of a local character. Each country, so far as we can see, has nearly the same worship—temples, altars, and ceremonies of the same type—the same religious emblems—the same ideas. The only difference here is, that in Assyria ampler evidence exists of what was material in the religious system, more abundant representations of the objects and modes of worship; so that it will be possible to give, by means of illustrations, a more graphic portraiture of the externals of the religion of the Assyrians than the scantiness of the remains permitted in the case of the primitive Chaldæans.

At the head of the Assyrian Pantheon stood the "great god," Asshur. His usual titles are "the great Lord," "the King of all the Gods," "he who rules supreme over the Gods."[4] Sometimes he is called "the Father of the Gods," though that is a title which is more properly assigned to Belus.[5] His place is always first in invocations. He is regarded throughout all the Assyrian inscriptions as the special tutelary deity both of the kings and of the country. He places the monarchs upon their throne, firmly establishes them in the government, lengthens the years of their reigns, preserves their power, protects their forts and armies, makes their name celebrated, and the like. To him they look to give them victory over their enemies, to grant them all the wishes of their heart, and to allow them to be succeeded on their thrones by their sons, and their sons' sons, to a remote posterity. Their usual phrase when speaking of him is "Asshur, my lord." They represent them-

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[3] See vol. i. p. 141.

[4] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay* in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 482, 2nd edition.

[5] Ibid. pp. 491, 492.

selves as passing their lives in his service. It is to spread his worship that they carry on their wars. They fight, ravage, destroy in his name. Finally, when they subdue a country, they are careful to "set up the emblems of Asshur," and teach the people his laws and his worship.

The tutelage of Asshur over Assyria is strongly marked by the identity of his name with that of the country, which in the original is complete.[6] It is also indicated by the curious fact that, unlike the other gods, Asshur had no notorious temple or shrine in any particular city of Assyria, a sign that his worship was spread equally throughout the whole land, and not to any extent localised. As the national deity, he had indeed given name to the original capital;[7] but even at Asshur (*Kileh-Sherghat*) it may be doubted whether there was any building which was specially his.[8] Under these circumstances it is a reasonable conjecture[9] that all the shrines throughout Assyria were open to his worship, to whatever minor god they might happen to be dedicated.

In the inscriptions the Assyrians are constantly described as "the servants of Asshur," and their enemies as "the enemies of Asshur." The Assyrian religion is "the worship of Asshur." No similar phrases are used with respect to any of the other gods of the Pantheon.

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[6] The god, the country, the town Asshur, and "an Assyrian," are all represented by the same term, which is written both *A-shur* and *As-shur*. The "determinative" prefixed to the term (see vol. i. pp. 339, 340) tells us which meaning is intended.

[7] See vol. i. p. 254.

[8] Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's *Herodotus* (vol. i. p. 483), inclines to allow that the great fane at Kileh-Sherghat was a temple of Asshur; but the deity whose name appears upon the bricks is entitled *Ashit*.

[9] Sir H. Rawlinson, l. s. c.

We can scarcely doubt that originally the god Asshur was the great progenitor of the race, Asshur, the son of Shem,[10] deified. It was not long, however, before this notion was lost, and Asshur came to be viewed simply as a celestial being—the first and highest of all the divine agents who ruled over heaven and earth. It is indicative of the (comparatively speaking) elevated character of Assyrian polytheism that this exalted and awful deity continued from first to last the main object of worship, and was not superseded in the thoughts of men by the lower and more intelligible divinities, such as Shamas and Sin, the Sun and Moon, Nergal the God of War, Nin the God of Hunting, or Iva, the wielder of the thunderbolt.[1]

The favourite emblem under which the Assyrians appear to have represented Asshur in their works of art was the winged circle or globe, from which a figure in a horned cap is frequently seen to issue, sometimes simply holding a bow (Fig. I.), sometimes shooting his arrows against the Assyrians' enemies. (Fig. II.) This emblem has been variously explained;[2] but the most probable conjecture would seem to be that the circle typifies eternity, while the

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[10] Gen. x. 22.

[1] In the worship of Egypt we may trace such a gradual descent and deterioration, from Amun, the *hidden* god, to Phtha, the demiurgus, thence to Ra, the Sun-God, from him to Isis and Osiris, deities of the third order, and finally to Apis and Serapis, mere dæmons.

[2] M. Lajard is of opinion that the foundation of the winged circle is a bird, which he pronounces to be a dove, and to typify the Assyrian Venus. To this he supposes were afterwards added the circle as an emblem of eternity, and the human figure, which he regards as an image of Baal or Bel. In confirmation of his view that the symbol mainly grew out of a bird, he adduces the subjoined form which appears upon a cylinder.

wings express omnipresence, and the human figure symbolises wisdom or intelligence. The emblem appears under many varieties. Sometimes the figure which issues from it has no bow, and is represented as simply extending the right hand (Fig. III.);

Fig. II.

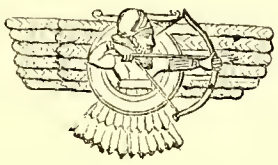
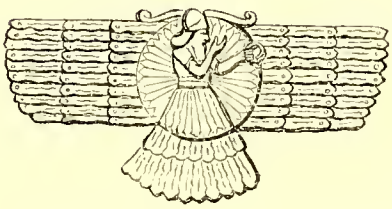


Fig. I.

Fig. III.

Fig. IV.

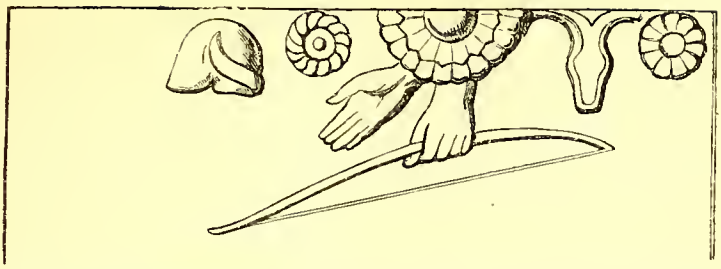


Emblems of Asshur (after Lajard).

occasionally both hands are extended, and the left holds a ring or chaplet (Fig. IV.) In one instance we see a very remarkable variation: for the complete human figure is substituted a mere pair of hands, which seem to come from behind the winged disk, the right open and exhibiting the palm, the left closed and holding a bow.[3] In a large number of cases all sign of a person is dispensed with,[4] the

[3] See the woodcut on the next page. This emblem is taken from a mutilated obelisk found at Koyunjik.

[4] See Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st Series, Pls. 6, 39, and 53; 2nd Series, Pls. 4 and 69; and compare above, vol. i. p. 493.



Emblems of the principal gods. (From an obelisk in the British Museum.)

winged circle appearing alone, with the disk either plain or ornamented. On the other hand, there are one or two instances where the emblem exhibits three human heads instead of one—the central figure having on either side of it a head, which seems to rest upon the feathers of the wing.[5]

Curious emblem of Asshur. (From the signet cylinder of Sennacherib.)

It is the opinion of some critics, based upon this form of the emblem, that the supreme deity of the Assyrians, whom the winged circle seems always to represent, was in reality a triune god.[6] Now certainly the triple human form is very remarkable, and lends a colour to this conjecture; but, as there is absolutely nothing, either in the statements of ancient writers, or in the Assyrian inscriptions, so far as they have been deciphered, to confirm the supposition, it can hardly be accepted as the true explanation of the phenomenon. The doctrine of the Trinity, scarcely apprehended with any distinctness even by the ancient Jews, does not appear to have been one of those which primeval revelation made known throughout the heathen world. It is a fanciful

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[5] See the Cylinder of Sennacherib (supra, vol. i. p. 475); and compare a cylinder engraved in M. Lajard's *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xxxii., No. 3.

[6] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 160; Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Explication des planches, p. 2.

mysticism which finds a Trinity in the Eicton, Cneph, and Phtha of the Egyptians, the Oromasdes, Mithras, and Arimanius of the Persians, and the Monas, Logos, and Psyche of Pythagoras and Plato.[7] There are abundant Triads in ancient mythology, but no real Trinity. The case of Asshur is, however, one of simple unity. He is not even included in any Triad. It is possible, however, that the triple figure shows him to us in temporary combination with two other gods, who may be exceptionally represented in this way rather than by their usual emblems. Or the three heads may be merely an exaggeration of that principle of repetition which gives rise so often to a double representation of a king or a god,[8] and which is seen at Bavian in the threefold repetition of another sacred emblem, the horned cap.

It is observable that in the sculptures the winged circle is seldom found except in immediate connection with the monarch.[9] The Great King wears it embroidered upon his robes,[10] carries it engraved upon his cylinder,[11] represents it above his head in the rock-tablets on which he carves his image,[12] stands or kneels in adoration before it,[13] fights under its

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[7] So Cudworth (*Intellectual System of the Universe*, ch. iv. § 16, et seq.) and others. Mosheim, in his Latin translation of Cudworth's great work, ably combats his views on this subject.

[8] Layard, *Monuments*, Pls. 6, 25, 39, &c.

[9] The occurrence of the emblem of Asshur without the king in the ivory representing women gathering grapes (supra, p. 205) is remarkable. Probably the ivory formed part of the ornamentation of a *royal* throne or cabinet. There are cylinders, however, apparently not royal, on which the emblem occurs. (Cullimore, Nos. 145, 154, 155, 158, 160, 162; Lajard, Pls. xiii. 2; xvi. 2; xvii. 5, 8, &c.)

[10] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 6; supra, vol. i. p. 493.

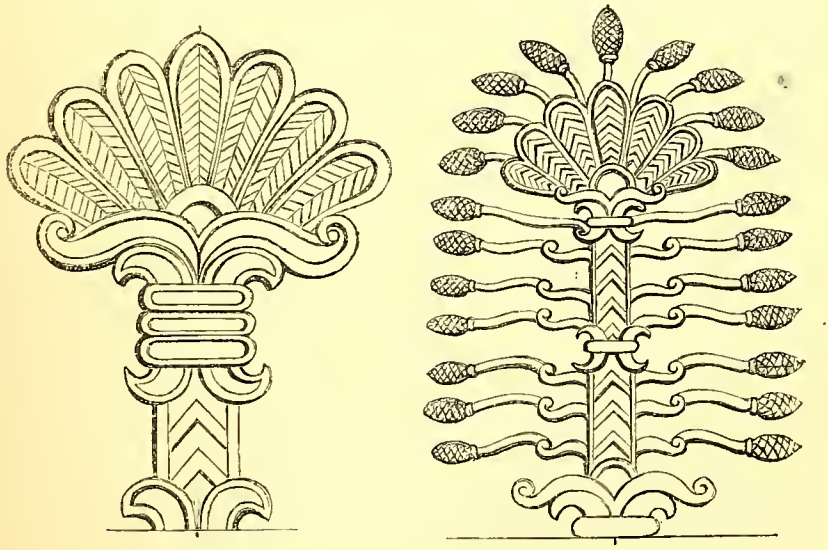
[11] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 160; supra, vol. i. p. 475.

[12] As at the Nahr-el-Kelb (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. i. No. 39); at Bavian (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 211), &c.

[13] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 6, 25, and 39.

shadow,[14] under its protection returns victorious,[15] places it conspicuously in the scenes where he himself is represented on his obelisks.[16] And in these various representations he makes the emblem in a great measure conform to the circumstances in which he himself is engaged at the time. Where he is fighting, Asshur too has his arrow on the string, and points it against the king's adversaries. Where he is returning from victory, with the disused bow in the left hand and the right hand outstretched and elevated, Asshur takes the same attitude. In peaceful scenes the bow disappears altogether. If the king worships, the god holds out his hand to aid; if he is engaged in secular acts, the divine presence is thought to be sufficiently marked by the circle and the wings without the human figure.

An emblem found in such frequent connection with the symbol of Asshur as to warrant the belief that it was attached in a special way to his worship, is the



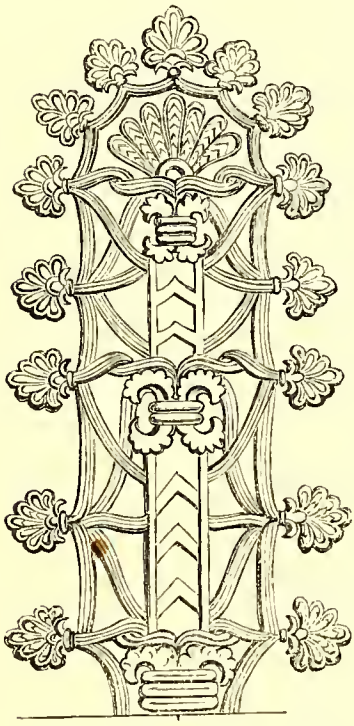
Simplest forms of the Sacred Tree (Nimrud).

[14] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 13.

[15] Ibid. Pl. 21.

[16] Ibid. Pl. 53. Compare the representation (supra, p. 233) which heads another royal obelisk.

sacred or symbolical tree. Like the winged circle, this emblem has various forms. The simplest consists of a short pillar springing from a single pair of rams' horns, and surmounted by a capital composed of two pairs of rams' horns separated by one, two, or three horizontal bands; above which there is, first, a scroll resembling that which commonly surmounts the winged circle, and then a flower, very much like the "honeysuckle ornament" of the Greeks.[1] More advanced specimens show the pillar elongated, with a capital in the middle in addition to the capital at the top, while the blossom above the upper capital, and generally the stem likewise, throw out a number of similar smaller blossoms, which are sometimes replaced by fir-cones or pomegranates. Where the tree is most elaborately portrayed, we see besides the stem and the blossoms, a complicated network of branches, which after interlacing with one another form a sort of arch surrounding the tree itself as with a frame.



Sacred Tree—final and most elaborate type. (Nimrud.)

It is a subject of curious speculation, whether this sacred tree does not stand connected with the *Ashêrah* of the Phœnicians, which was

[1] This resemblance, which Mr. Layard notes (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 294) is certainly very curious; but it does not tell us anything of the origin or meaning of the symbol. The Greeks probably adopted the ornament as elegant, without caring to understand it. I suspect that the so-called "flower" was in reality a representation of the head of a palm-tree, with the form of which, as portrayed on the earliest sculptures (Layard, *Monuments*, Pl. 53), it nearly agrees.

certainly not a "grove," in the sense in which we commonly understand the word. The *Ashêrah*, which the Jews adopted from the idolatrous nations with whom they came in contact, was an artificial structure, originally of wood,[2] but in the later times, probably of metal,[3] capable of being "set" in the temple at Jerusalem by one king,[4] and "brought out" by another.[5] It was a structure for which "hangings" could be made,[6] to cover and protect it, while at the same time it was so far like a tree that it could be properly said to be "cut down," rather than "broken" or otherwise demolished.[7] The name itself seems to imply something which stood straight up;[8] and the conjecture is reasonable that its essential element was "the straight stem of a tree,"[9] though whether the idea connected with the emblem was of the same nature with that which underlay the phallic rites of the Greeks,[10] is (to say the least) extremely uncertain. We have no distinct evidence that the Assyrian sacred tree was a real tangible object: it may have been, as Mr. Layard supposes,[11] a mere type. But it is perhaps on the whole more likely to have been an actual object;[12] in which case we cannot

[2] Judges vi. 26. "Take the second bullock and offer a burnt sacrifice with the *wood* of the grove (*Ashêrah*) which thou shalt cut down."

[3] According to the account in the Second Book of Kings, Josiah "burnt the grove at the brook Kishon, *and stamped it small to powder*, and cast the powder thereof upon the graves of the children of the people" (xxiii. 6). Unless the *Ashêrah* had been of metal there would have been no need of stamping it to powder after burning it.

[4] 2 Kings xxi. 7.

[5] Ibid. xxiii. 6.

[6] Ibid. verse 7.

[7] Judges vi. 25, 28; 2 Kings xviii. 4; xxiii. 14; 2 Chron. xiv. 3; xxxi. 1, &c.

[8] *Ashêrah* (אֲשֵׁרָה) is from אָשַׁר, the true root of which is יָשַׁר, "to be straight" or "upright."

[9] So Dr. Gotch in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 120.

[10] Ibid. loc. cit.

[11] *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 447. "The sacred tree is before him, but only, it may be presumed, as a type."

[12] It is found with objects which are all certainly material, as on Lord Aberdeen's Black Stone, where a real sacrificial scene appears to be represented.

but suspect that it stood in the Assyrian system in much the same position as the *Ashêrah* in the Phœnician, being closely connected with the worship of the supreme god,[13] and having certainly a symbolic character, though of what exact kind it may not be easy to determine.

An analogy has been suggested between this Assyrian emblem and the Scriptural "tree of life," which is thought to be variously reflected in the multiform mythology of the East.[14] Are not such speculations somewhat over-fanciful? There is perhaps, in the emblem itself, which combines the horns of the ram—an animal noted for procreative power—with the image of a fruit- or flower-producing tree, ground for supposing that some allusion is intended to the prolific or generative energy in nature; but more than this can scarcely be said without venturing upon mere speculation. The time will perhaps ere long arrive when, by the interpretation of the mythological tablets of the Assyrians, their real notions on this and other kindred subjects may become known to us. Till then, it is best to remain content with such facts as are ascertainable, without seeking to penetrate mysteries at which we can but guess, and where, even if we guess aright, we cannot know that we do so.

The gods worshipped in Assyria in the next degree to Asshur appear to have been, in the early times, Anu and Iva; in the later, Bel, Sin, Shamas, Iva, Nin or Ninip, and Nergal. Gula, Ishtar, and Beltis were favourite goddesses. Hoa, Nebo, and Mero-

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[13] The groves in Scripture are closely connected with the worship of Baal, the supreme God of the Phœnicians. (See Judges iii. 7; 1 Kings xviii. 19; 2 Kings xvii. 16 &c.)

[14] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 472.

dach, though occasional objects of worship, more especially under the later empire, were in far less repute in Assyria than in Babylonia; and the two last-named may almost be said to have been introduced into the former country from the latter during the historical period.[1]

For the special characteristics of these various gods —common objects of worship to the Assyrians and the Babylonians from a very remote epoch—the reader is referred to the first volume of this work, where their several attributes and their position in the Chaldæan Pantheon have been noted.[2] The general resemblance of the two religious systems is such, that almost everything which has been stated with respect to the gods of the First Empire may be taken as applying equally to those of the Second; and the reader is requested to make this application in all cases, except where some shade of difference, more or less strongly marked, shall be pointed out. In the following pages, without repeating what has been said in the former volume, some account will be given of the worship of the principal gods *in Assyria*, and of the chief temples dedicated to their service.

ANU.

The worship of Anu seems to have been introduced into Assyria from Babylonia during the times of Chaldæan supremacy which preceded the establish-

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[1] Merodach and Nebo are not absolutely unknown to the earlier kings; since they are invoked upon the Black Obelisk as the eighth and the eleventh gods. But it is only with Vul-lush or Iva-lush III. (ab. B.C. 800) that they become prominent. This king takes special credit to himself for having first prominently placed Merodach in the Pantheon of Assyria. (See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay* in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 516, 2nd edition.)

[2] Vol. i. ch. vii. pp. 138-188.

ment of the independent Assyrian kingdom. Shamas-Iva, the son of Ismi-Dagon, King of Chaldæa, built a temple to Anu and Iva at Asshur, which was then the Assyrian capital, about B.C. 1820. An inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I. states that this temple lasted for 621 years, when, having fallen into decay, it was taken down by Asshur-dapal-il, his own great grandfather.[3] Its site remained vacant for sixty years. Then Tiglath-Pileser I., in the beginning of his reign, rebuilt the temple more magnificently than before;[4] and from that time it seems to have remained among the principal shrines in Assyria. Its *ziggurat* or tower was perhaps the building which rises in a pyramidical form on the northern edge of the great platform at Kileh-Sherghat;[5] at any rate it was from a tradition connected with the ancient temple of Shamas-Iva, that Asshur in later times acquired the name of Telané or "the Mound of Anu" which it bears in Stephen.[6]

Anu's place among the "Great Gods" of Assyria is not so well marked as that of many other divinities. His name does not occur as an element in the names of kings or of other important personages. He is omitted altogether from many solemn invocations.[7] It is doubtful whether he is one of the gods whose emblems were worn by the king and inscribed upon the rock-tablets.[8] But, on the other hand, where he

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[3] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, § 45, p. 62.

[4] Ibid. pp. 64-66.

[5] Supra, vol. i. p. 255.

[6] Steph. Byz. ad voc. Τελάνη. Vide supra, vol. i. p. 146, note [7].

[7] As from that of Tiglath-Pileser I. at the commencement of his great Inscription (p. 18).

[8] Esarhaddon omits him from the list of gods whose emblems he places over his image. (*Assyrian Texts*, p. 12.) If the horned cap is rightly ascribed to Bel (see below, p. 244), there will be no emblem for Anu, since the others may be assigned with certainty to Asshur, Sin, Shamas, Iva, and Gula.

occurs in lists, he is invariably placed directly after Asshur;[9] and he is often coupled with that deity in a way which is strongly indicative of his exalted character. Tiglath-Pileser I., though omitting him from his opening invocation, speaks of him in the latter part of his great Inscription, as his lord and protector in the next place to Asshur. Asshur-idanni-pal uses expressions as if he were Anu's special votary, calling himself "him who honours Anu," or "him who honours Anu and Dagan."[10] His son, the Black Obelisk king, assigns him the second place in the invocation of thirteen gods with which he begins his record.[11] The kings of the Lower Dynasty do not generally hold him in much repute; Sargon, however, is an exception, perhaps because his own name closely resembled that of a god mentioned as one of Anu's sons.[12] Sargon not unfrequently glorifies Anu, coupling him with Bel or Bil, the second god of the first Triad. He even made Anu the tutelary god of one of the gates of his new city, Bit-Sargina (Khorsabad), joining him in this capacity with the goddess Ishtar.

Anu had but few temples in Assyria. He seems to have had none at either Nineveh or Calah, and none of any importance in all Assyria, except that at Asshur. There is, however, reason to believe that he was occasionally honoured with a shrine in a temple dedicated to another deity.[13]

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[9] As in the Black Obelisk Inscription, where he precedes Bel. Compare *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, pp. 40, 68, &c.

[10] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay* in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 487, 2nd edition.

[11] See the *Dublin University Magazine* for October, 1853, p. 420.

[12] Sir H. Rawlinson reads the name of one of Anu's sons as Sargana. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 488.)

[13] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, p. 40.

BIL or BEL.

The classical writers represent Bel as especially a Babylonian god, and scarcely mention his worship by the Assyrians;[14] but the monuments show that the true Bel (called in the former volume Bel-Nimrod) was worshipped at least as much in the northern as in the southern country. Indeed, as early as the time of Tiglath-Pileser I., the Assyrians, as a nation, were especially entitled by their monarchs "the people of Belus;"[1] and the same periphrasis was in use during the period of the Lower Empire.[2] According to some authorities, a particular quarter of the city of Nineveh was denominated "the city of Belus;"[3] which would imply that it was in a peculiar way under his protection. The word Bel does not occur very frequently as an element in royal names; it was borne, however, by one or two early Assyrian kings;[4] and there is evidence that in later times it entered as an element into the names of leading personages, with almost as much frequency as Asshur.[5]

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[14] Herodotus seems to regard Belus as an exclusively Babylonian god (i. 181). So Diodorus (ii. 8), Berosus (Frs. 1 and 2), Abydenus (Frs. 8 and 9), Dionysius Periegetes (l. 1007), Claudian (*De laude Stilich.* i. 62), and others. According to many he was the founder and first king of Babylon (Q. Curt. v. 1, § 24; Eustath. ad Dion. Per. l. s. c., &c.), which some regarded as built by his son (Steph. Byz. ad voc. Βαβυλών). Some considered that the great temple of Belus at Babylon was his tomb (Strab. xvi. p. 1049; compare Ælian. *Hist. Var.* xiii. 3). His worship by the Assyrians is, however, admitted by Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvii. 53 and 58), Nonnus (*Dionys.* xviii. 14), and a few others. The ground of the difference thus made by the classical writers is probably the confusion between the first Bel and the second Bel—Bel-Merodach—the great seat of whose worship was Babylon.

[1] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, pp. 20 and 62.

[2] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 491. "Sargon speaks of the 350 kings who from remote antiquity ruled over Assyria and pursued after" (*i. e.* governed) "the people of Bilu-Nipru (Bel)."

[3] Fox Talbot, *Assyrian Texts*, p. 6, note [5].

[4] See below, ch. ix. pp. 301, 302.

[5] In the list of *Eponyms* contained

The high rank of Bel in Assyria is very strongly marked. In the invocations his place is either the third or the second. The former is his proper position, but occasionally Anu is omitted, and the name of Bel follows immediately on that of Asshur.[6] In one or two places he is made third, notwithstanding that Anu is omitted, Shamas, the Sun-god, being advanced over his head;[7] but this is very unusual.

The worship of Bel in the earliest Assyrian times is marked by the royal names of Bel-lush and Bel-sumili-kapi borne by two of the most ancient kings.[8] He had a temple at Asshur in conjunction with Il or Ra, which must have been of great antiquity, for by the time of Tiglath-Pileser I. (B.C. 1130) it had fallen to decay and required a complete restoration, which it received from that monarch.[9] He had another temple at Calah; besides which he had four "arks" or "tabernacles," the emplacement of which is uncertain.[10] Among the later kings, Sargon especially paid him honour. Besides coupling him with Anu in his royal titles, he dedicated to him—in conjunction with Beltis, his wife—one of the gates of his city, and in many passages he ascribes his royal authority to the favour of Bel and Merodach.[11] He also calls Bel, in the dedication of the eastern gate at Khorsabad, "the establisher of the foundations of his city."[12]

It may be suspected that the horned cap, which

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in the famous Assyrian Canon I find, during the 203 years, twenty-six in whose names Bel is an element, to thirty-two who have names compounded with Asshur.

[6] As in the invocation of Tiglath-Pileser I. (*Inscription*, &c. p. 18).

[7] As by Sennacherib (*Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. xix. p. 163) and Esarhaddon (*Assyrian Texts*, p. 16).

[8] See below, ch. ix. pp. 301, 302.

[9] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, pp. 56-58.

[10] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 492.

[11] Oppert, *Expédition Scientifique en Mesopotamie*, vol. ii. p. 337.

[12] Sir H. Rawlinson, l. s. c.

was no doubt a general emblem of divinity, was also in an especial way, the symbol of this god. Esarhaddon states that he set up over "the image of his majesty the emblems of Asshur, the Sun, Bel, Nin, and Ishtar."[13] The other kings always include Bel among the chief objects of their worship. We should thus expect to find his emblem among those which the kings specially affected; and as all the other common emblems are assigned to distinct gods with tolerable certainty, the horned cap alone remaining doubtful, the most reasonable conjecture seems to be that it was Bel's symbol.[14]

It has been assumed in some quarters that the Bel of the Assyrians was identical with the Phœnician Dagon.[15] A word which reads *Da-gan* is found in the native lists of divinities, and in one place the explanation attached seems to shew that the term was among the titles of Bel.[16] But this verbal resemblance between the name Dagon and one of Bel's titles is probably a mere accident, and affords no ground for assuming any connection between the two gods, who have nothing in common one with the other. The Bel of the Assyrians was certainly not their Fish-god; nor had his epithet *Da-gan* any real connection with the word *dag*, דָּג, "a fish." To speak of "Bel-Dagon" is thus to mislead the ordinary reader, who naturally supposes from the term that he is to identify the great god Belus, the second deity of the first Triad, with the fish forms upon the sculptures.

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[13] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 16.

[14] It is possible that the horned cap symbolised Anu, Bel, and Hoa equally; and the *three* caps at Bavian (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 211) may represent the entire Triad.

[15] Oppert, *Expédition Scientifique*, vol. ii. pp. 88, 263, 264, &c.

[16] Sir H. Rawlinson, *Essay*, p. 487.

HEA or HOA.

Hea or Hoa, the third god of the first Triad, was not a prominent object of worship in Assyria. Asshur-idanni-pal mentions him as having allotted to the four thousand deities of heaven and earth the senses of hearing, seeing and understanding; and then, stating that the four thousand deities had transferred all these senses to himself, proceeds to take Hoa's titles, and, as it were, to identify himself with the god.[17] His son, Shalmaneser II., the Black-Obelisk king, gives Hoa his proper place in his opening invocation, mentioning him between Bel and Sin. Sargon puts one of the gates of his new city under Hoa's care, joining him with Bilat Ili—"the mistress of the gods"—who is, perhaps, the Sun-goddess, Gula. Sennacherib, after a successful expedition across a portion of the Persian Gulf, offers sacrifice to Hoa on the sea-shore, presenting him with a golden boat, a golden fish, and a golden coffer. But these are exceptional instances; and on the whole it is evident that in Assyria Hoa was not a favourite god. The serpent, which is his emblem, though found on the black stones recording benefactions and frequent on the Babylonian cylinder-seals, is not adopted by the Assyrian kings among the divine symbols which they wear or among those which they inscribe above their effigies. The word Hoa does not enter as an element into Assyrian names. The kings rarely invoke him. So far as we can tell, he had but two temples in Assyria, one at Asshur (Kileh-Sherghat), and the other at Calah (Nimrud). Perhaps the

[17] Sir H. Rawlinson, *Essay*, pp. 494, 495. Compare above, vol. i. p. 155, note [9].

devotion of the Assyrians to Nin—the tutelary god of their kings and of their capital—who in so many respects resembled Hoa,[1] caused the worship of Hoa to decline and that of Nin gradually to supersede it.

MYLITTA or BELTIS.

Beltis, the "Great Mother," the feminine counterpart of Bel, ranked in Assyria next to the Triad consisting of Anu, Bel, and Hoa. She is generally mentioned in close connexion with Bel, her husband, in the Assyrian records. She appears to have been regarded in Assyria as especially "the queen of fertility," or "fecundity," and so as "the queen of the lands,"[2] thus resembling the Greek Demeter, who, like Beltis, was known as "the Great Mother." Sargon placed one of his gates under the protection of Beltis in conjunction with her husband, Bel; and Asshur-bani-pal, his great-grandson, repaired and rededicated to her a temple at Nineveh, which stood on the great mound of Koyunjik.[3] She had another temple at Asshur, and probably a third at Calah.[4] She seems to have been really known as Beltis in Assyria, and as Mylitta (Mulita) in Babylonia, though we should naturally have gathered the reverse from the extant classical notices.[5]

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[1] See vol. i. p. 167.

[2] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 496.

[3] Ibid. p. 497. A vast number of inscribed slabs have been brought from this edifice. It was originally erected by Asshur-idanni-pal.

[4] It is doubtful whether the Calah temple was dedicated to Beltis or to Ishtar, as the epithets used would apply to either goddess.

[5] Herodotus, in two places (i. 131 and 199), gives Mylitta as the *Assyrian* name of the goddess, while Hesychius calls Belthes (Βήλθης) the *Babylonian* Juno or Venus, and Abydenus makes Nebuchadnezzar speak of "Queen Beltis" (ἡ βασίλεια Βῆλτις, Fr. 9). Nicolas of Damascus, however, gives Molis as the *Babylonian* term (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* vol. iii. p. 361, note 16). The fact seems to be that Mulita was Hamitic-Chaldæan, Bilta Semitic-Assyrian. Mu-

SIN or THE MOON.

Sin, the Moon-god, ranked next to Beltis in Assyrian mythology, and his place is thus either fifth or sixth in the full lists, according as Beltis is, or is not, inserted. His worship in the time of the early empire appears from the invocation of Tiglath-Pileser I., where he occurs in the third place, between Bel and Shamas.[6] His emblem, the crescent, was worn by Asshur-idanni-pal,[7] and is found wherever divine symbols are inscribed over their effigies by the Assyrian kings. There is no sign which is more frequent on the cylinder-seals, whether Babylonian or Assyrian,[8] and it would thus seem that Sin was among the most popular of Assyria's deities. His name occurs sometimes, though not so frequently as some others, in the appellations of important personages, as *e. g.* in that of Sennacherib, which is explained to mean "Sin multiplies brethren." Sargon, who thus named one of his sons, appears to have been specially attached to the worship of Sin, to whom, in conjunction with Shamas, he built a temple at Khorsabad,[9] and to whom he assigned the second place among the tutelary deities of his city.[10]

The Moon-god (from a cylinder).

The Assyrian monarchs appear to have had a curious belief in the special antiquity of the Moon-god.

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lita was, however, known to the Assyrians, who derived their religion from the southern country, and Bilta was adopted by the (later) Babylonians, who were Semitized from Assyria.

[6] *Inscription*, &c., p. 18.

[7] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 25.

[8] The form is always a crescent, with the varieties represented in vol. i. p. 157: sometimes, however, the god himself is represented as issuing from the crescent, as in the above woodcut.

[9] Oppert, *Expédition Scientifique*, vol. ii. p. 330.

[10] Ibid. p. 343.

When they wished to mark a very remote period, they used the expression "from the origin of the god Sin."[11] This is perhaps a trace of the ancient connexion of Assyria with Babylonia, where the earliest capital, Ur, was under the Moon-god's protection, and the most primeval temple was dedicated to his honour.[12]

Only two temples are known to have been erected to Sin in Assyria. One is that already mentioned as dedicated by Sargon at Bit-Sargina (Khorsabad) to the Sun and Moon in conjunction. The other was at Calah, and in that Sin had no associate.

SHAMAS.

Shamas, the Sun-god, though in rank inferior to Sin, seems to have been a still more favourite and more universal object of worship. From many passages we should have gathered that he was second only to Asshur in the estimation of the Assyrian monarchs, who sometimes actually place him above Bel in their lists.[13] His emblem, the four-rayed orb, is worn by the king upon his neck,[14] and seen more commonly than almost any other upon the cylinder-seals. It is even in some instances united with that of Asshur, the central circle of Asshur's emblem being marked by the fourfold rays of Shamas.[15]

The worship of Shamas was ancient in Assyria. Tiglath-Pileser I. not only names him in his invoca-

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[11] Sargon speaks of the Cyprians as "a nation of whom from the remotest times, *from the origin of the God Sin*, the kings my fathers, who ruled over Assyria and Babylonia, had never heard mention." (See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 507.)

[12] See vol. i. pp. 157, 158.

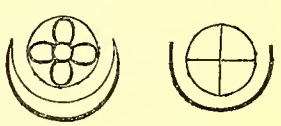
[13] *As. Soc. Journal*, vol. xix. p. 163; *Assyrian Texts*, p. 16.

[14] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 82; 2nd Series, Pl. 4.

[15] See vol. i. p. 493, and compare Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 6, where the representation is more accurately given.

tion, but represents himself as ruling especially under his auspices.[16] Asshur-idanni-pal mentions Asshur and Shamas as the tutelary deities under whose influence he carried on his various wars.[17] His son, the Black-Obelisk king, assigns to Shamas his proper place among the gods whose favour he invokes at the commencement of his long Inscription.[18] The kings of the Lower Empire were even more devoted to him than their predecessors. Sargon dedicated to him the north gate of his city, in conjunction with Iva, the god of the air, built a temple to him at Khorsabad in conjunction with Sin, and assigned him the third place among the tutelary deities of his new town.[19] Sennacherib and Esarhaddon mention his name next to Asshur's in passages where they enumerate the gods whom they regard as their chief protectors.

Excepting at Khorsabad, where he had a temple (as above mentioned) in conjunction with Sin, Shamas does not appear to have had any special buildings dedicated to his honour.[1] His images are, however, often noticed in the lists of idols, and it is probable therefore that he received worship in temples dedicated to other deities. His emblem is generally found conjoined with that of the moon, the two being placed side by side or the one directly under the other.



Emblems of the sun and moon (from cylinders).

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[16] *Inscription*, &c. p. 20.

[17] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 501.

[18] *Dublin Univ. Mag.* for Oct. 1853, p. 420.

[19] Oppert, *Expédition*, &c., pp. 330, 344.

[1] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 502.

VUL or IVA.

This god, whose name is still so uncertain,[2] was known in Assyria from times anterior to the independence, a temple having been raised in his sole honour at Asshur,[3] the original Assyrian capital, by Shamas-Iva, the son of the Chaldæan king Ismi-Dagon, besides the temple (already mentioned)[4] which the same monarch dedicated to him in conjunction with Anu. These buildings having fallen to ruin by the time of Tiglath-Pileser I., were by him rebuilt from their base; and Iva, who was worshipped in both, appears to have been regarded by that monarch as one of his special "guardian deities."[5] In the Black-Obelisk invocation Iva holds the place intermediate between Sin and Shamas, and on the same monument is recorded the fact that the king who erected it held, on one occasion, a festival to Iva in conjunction with Asshur.[6] Sargon names Iva in the fourth place among the tutelary deities of his city,[7] and dedicates to him the north gate in conjunction with the Sun-god, Shamas.[8] Sennacherib speaks of hurling thunder on his enemies like Iva,[9] and other kings use similar expressions.[10] The term Iva

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[2] See vol. i. p. 163, note [7].

[3] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, p. 66.

[4] Supra, p. 240.

[5] See *Inscription*, &c., p. 30, where Vul is called "my guardian God." Ninip, however, occurs more frequently in that character. (See below, p. 253.)

[6] *Dublin Univ. Magazine* for Oct. 1853, p. 426. Iva is often joined with Asshur in invocations, more especially where a curse is invoked on those who injure the royal inscriptions. (See the *Tiglath-Pileser Inscription*, p. 72, and compare the still earlier inscription on Tiglathi-Nin's signet-seal, infra, ch. ix.)

[7] Oppert, *Expédition Scientifique*, vol. ii. p. 344.

[8] Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 499.

[9] *Journal of As. Society*, vol. xix. p. 163.

[10] They "rush on the enemy like the whirlwind of Iva," or "sweep a country as with the whirlwind of Iva." Iva is "he who causes the tempest to rage over hostile lands," in the Tiglath-Pileser inscription.

was frequently employed as an element in royal and other names;[11] and the emblem which seems to have symbolized him—the double or triple bolt[12]—appears constantly among those worn by the kings[13] and engraved above their heads on the rock-tablets.[14]

Iva had a temple at Calah[15] besides the two temples in which he received worship at Asshur. It was dedicated to him in conjunction with the goddess Shala, who appears to have been regarded as his wife.

It is not quite certain whether we can recognise any representations of Iva in the Assyrian remains. Perhaps the figure with four wings and a horned cap,[16] who wields a thunderbolt in either hand, and attacks therewith the monster, half lion, half eagle, which is known to us from the Nimrud sculptures, may be intended for this deity. If so, it will be reasonable also to recognise him in the figure with uplifted foot, sometimes perched upon an ox, and bearing, like the other, one or two thunderbolts, which occasionally occurs upon the cylinders.[17] It is uncertain, however, whether the former of these figures is not one of the many different representations of Nin, the Assyrian Hercules; and, should that prove the true explanation in the one case, no very great confidence could be felt in the suggested identification in the other.

The god of the atmosphere (from a cylinder).

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[11] As in Iva-lush, Shamas-Iva, &c. In the Assyrian Canon ten of the Eponyms have names in which Iva is an element.

[12] Supra, vol. i. p. 164.

[13] Supra, p. 103.

[14] As at Bavian (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 211).

[15] Sir H. Rawlinson, *Essay*, p. 500.

[16] Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 5.

[17] Lajard, Pl. xxvii., No. 5; Cullimore, Pl. 21, No. 107.

GULA.

Gula, the Sun-goddess, does not occupy a very high position among the deities of Assyria. Her emblem, indeed, the eight-rayed disk, is borne, together with her husband's, by the Assyrian monarchs,[18] and is inscribed on the rock-tablets, on the stones recording benefactions, and on the cylinder-seals, with remarkable frequency. But her name occurs rarely in the inscriptions, and, where it is found, appears low down in the lists. In the Black-Obelisk invocation, out of thirteen deities named, she is the twelfth.[19] Elsewhere she scarcely appears, unless in inscriptions of a purely religious character. Perhaps she was commonly regarded as so much one with her husband that a separate and distinct mention of her seemed not to be requisite.

Gula is known to have had at least two temples in Assyria. One of these was at Asshur, where she was worshipped in combination with ten other deities, of whom one only, Ishtar, was of high rank.[20] The other was at Calah, where her husband had also a temple.[21] She is perhaps to be identified with *Bilat Ili*, "the mistress of the gods," to whom Sargon dedicated one of his gates in conjunction with Hoa.[22]

NINIP or NIN.

Among the gods of the second order, there is none whom the Assyrians worshipped with more devotion than Nin or Ninip. In traditions which are pro-

[18] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 82; 2nd Series, Pl. 4.

[19] *Dublin Univ. Mag.* p. 420.

[20] Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 504, note [6].

[21] Ibid. l. s. c.

[22] Ibid. p. 494; and on the presumed identification of Gula with *Bilat-Ili*, see pp. 503, 504.

bably ancient, the race of their kings was derived from him,[1] and after him was called the mighty city which ultimately became their capital. As early as the thirteenth century B.C. the name of Nin was used as an element in royal appellations,[2] and the first king who has left us an historical inscription regarded himself as being in an especial way under Nin's guardianship. Tiglath-Pileser I. is "the illustrious prince whom Asshur and Nin have exalted to the utmost wishes of his heart."[3] He speaks of Nin sometimes singly, sometimes in conjunction with Asshur, as his "guardian deity."[4] Nin and Nergal make his weapons sharp for him, and under Nin's auspices the fiercest beasts of the field fall beneath them.[5] Asshur-idanni-pal built him a magnificent temple at Nimrud (Calah).[6] Shamas-Iva, the grandson of this king, dedicated to him the obelisk which he set up at that place in commemoration of his victories.[7] Sargon placed his newly-built city in part under his protection,[8] and specially invoked him to guard his magnificent palace.[9] The ornamentation of that edifice indicated in a very striking way the reverence of the builder for this god, whose symbol, the winged bull,[10] guarded all its main gateways, and who seems to have been actually represented by the figure strangling a lion, so conspicuous on the *Hareem*

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[1] The Ninus of the Greeks can be no other than the Nin or Ninip of the Inscriptions. Herodotus probably (i. 7), Ctesias certainly (Diod. Sic. ii. 1-21), derived the kings of the Upper Dynasty from Ninus.

[2] See below, ch. ix. p. 304.

[3] *Inscription*, p. 60.

[4] Ibid. pp. 54-56. [5] Ibid. l. s. c.

[6] This is the edifice described by Mr. Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 123-129 and 348-357).

[7] Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 512, 513, 2nd edition.

[8] Oppert, *Expédition Scientifique*, vol. ii. p. 344.

[9] Ibid. pp. 333, 334.

[10] Supra, vol. i. p. 168.

portal facing the great court.[11] Nor did Sargon regard Nin as his protector only in peace. He ascribed to his influence the successful issue of his wars; and it is probably to indicate the belief which he entertained on this point that he occasionally placed Nin's emblems on the sculptures representing his expeditions.[12] Sennacherib, the son and successor of Sargon, appears to have had much the same feelings towards Nin as his father, since in his buildings he gave the same prominence to the winged bull and to the figure strangling the lion; placing the former at almost all his doorways, and giving the latter a conspicuous position on the grand façade of his chief palace.[13] Esarhaddon relates that he continued in the worship of Nin, setting up his emblem over his own royal effigy, together with those of Asshur, Shamas, Bel, and Ishtar.[14]

It appears at first sight as if, notwithstanding the general prominency of Nin in the Assyrian religious system, there was one respect in which he stood below a considerable number of the gods. We seldom find his name used openly as an element in the royal appellations. In the list of kings three only will be found with names into which the term Nin enters.[15] But there is reason to believe that, in the case of this god, it was usual to speak of him under a periphrasis;[16]

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[11] See the woodcut, vol. i. p. 361. For representations of the many modifications which this figure underwent, see Mons. F. Lajard's work, *Culte de Mithra*, Pls. lxxiv. to cii.; and on the general subject of the Assyrian Hercules, see M. Raoul Rochette's memoir in the *Mémoires de l'Institut*, vol. xvii.)

[12] Botta, *Monument*, Pls. 32 to 34. The emblems given are 1. the winged bull (Pl. 33), 2. the winged bull with a human head (Pl. 32), and 3. the human-headed fish (Pls. 32 and 34).

[13] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 137.

[14] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 16.

[15] Nin-pala-zira and the two Tiglathi-Nins. (See below, ch. ix).

[16] Nin was called "Pal-kura" and "Pal-zira," "the son of Kura,"

and this periphrasis entered into names in lieu of the god's proper designation. Five kings (if this be admitted) may be regarded as named after him; which is as large a number as we find named after any god but Asshur.

The principal temples known to have been dedicated to Nin in Assyria were at Calah, the modern Nimrud. There the vast structure at the north-western angle of the great mound, including the pyramidical eminence which is the most striking feature of the ruins, was a temple dedicated to the honour of Nin by Asshur-idanni-pal, the builder of the North-West Palace. We can have little doubt that this building represents the "busta Nini" of the classical writers, the place where Ninus (Nin or Nin-ip), who was regarded by the Greeks as the hero-founder of the nation, was interred and specially worshipped. Nin had also a second temple in this town, which bore the name of *Bit-kura* (or Beth-kura), as the other one did of *Bit-zira* (or Beth-zira);[17] and it seems to have been from these fanes that he had the titles *Pal-zira* and *Pal-kura*, which form substitutes for Nin, as already noticed,[18] in certain royal names.

MERODACH.

Most of the early kings of Assyria mention Merodach in their opening invocations, and we sometimes find an allusion in their inscriptions, which seems to imply that he was viewed as a god of great power.[19]

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and "the son of Zira." The latter title is that which the Jews have represented by the second element in Tiglath-*Pileser*.

[17] Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 512, 513, 2nd edition.

[18] See above, note [16].

[19] The Black-Obelisk king says in one place that "the fear of Asshur and Merodach" fell upon his enemies. (*Dublin Univ. Mag.* for Oct. 1853, p. 426.)

But he is decidedly not a favourite object of worship in Assyria until a comparatively recent period. Ivalush III. indeed claims to have been the first to give him a prominent place in the Assyrian Pantheon;[20] and it may be conjectured that the Babylonian expeditions of this monarch furnished the impulse which led to a modification in this respect of the Assyrian religious system. The later kings, Sargon and his successors, maintain the worship introduced by Ivalush. Sargon habitually regards his power as conferred upon him by the combined favour of Merodach and Asshur,[21] while Esarhaddon sculptures Merodach's emblem, together with that of Asshur, over the images of foreign gods brought to him by a suppliant prince.[22] No temple to Merodach is, however, known to have existed in Assyria, even under the later kings, nor was his name more than rarely used as an element in the appellations of Assyrians.[23]

NERGAL.

Among the minor gods, Nergal is one whom the Assyrians seem to have regarded with extraordinary reverence. He was the divine ancestor from whom the monarchs loved to boast that they derived their descent — the line being traceable, according to Sargon, through three hundred and fifty generations.[1] They symbolized him by the winged lion

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[20] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 516, note [6].

[21] Oppert, *Expédition Scientifique*, vol. ii. p. 337.

[22] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 13.

[23] Merodach, though an element in so many names of Babylonian kings, is no part of the name of any Assyrian monarch. In M. Oppert's list of Eponyms, however, out of about 200 names, eleven are compounded with Merodach.

[1] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay* in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 519, 2nd edition.

with a human head,[2] or possibly sometimes by the mere natural lion;[3] and it was to mark their confident dependence on his protection that they made his emblems so conspicuous in their palaces. Nin and Nergal—the gods of war and hunting, the occupations in which the Assyrian monarchs passed their lives—were tutelary divinities of the race, the life, and the homes of the kings, who associate them equally in their inscriptions and their sculptures.

Nergal, though thus honoured by the frequent mention of his name and erection of his emblem, did not (so far as appears) often receive the tribute of a temple. Sennacherib dedicated one to him at Tarbisi now (Sherif-khan), near Khorsabad,[4] and he may have had another at Calah (Nimrud), of which he is said to have been one of the "resident gods."[5] But generally it would seem that the Assyrians were content to pay him honour in other ways[6] without constructing special buildings devoted exclusively to his worship.

ISHTAR.

Ishtar was very generally worshipped by the Assyrian monarchs, who called her "their lady," and sometimes in their invocations coupled her with the

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[2] Supra, vol. i. pp. 172-174.

[3] The natural lion is more extensively used as an architectural form by the Assyrians than the winged lion. It occurs not only in central Assyria, as at Nimrud (Layard's *Nin. and Bab.* p. 359), but also in the remoter provinces, as at Arban (Layard, p. 278) and Seruj. (Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i. p. 114; supra, vol. i. p. 248.)

[4] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 520.

[5] Ibid. p. 519, note [5]. Is not the smaller temple, with the Lion entrance, at the north-western corner of the Nimrud mound, a temple of Nergal, as the larger one is of Ninip?

[6] Nergal was not, however, often chosen to furnish an element of a name. By no Assyrian sovereign was he thus honoured. In the case of the Eponyms, only about one out of thirty has a name compounded with Nergal.

supreme god, Asshur.[7] She had a very ancient temple at Asshur, the primeval capital, which Tiglath-Pileser I. repaired and beautified.[8] Sardanapalus I. built her a second temple at Nineveh,[9] and she had a third at Arbela, which Asshur-bani-pal states that he restored.[10] Sargon placed under her protection, conjointly with Anu, the western gate of his city; and his son, Sennacherib, seems to have viewed Asshur and Ishtar as the special guardians of his progeny.[11] Asshur-bani-pal, the great hunting king, was a devotee of the goddess, whom he regarded as presiding over his special diversion—the chase.

What is most remarkable in the Assyrian worship of Ishtar is the local character assigned to her. The Ishtar of Nineveh is distinguished from the Ishtar of Arbela, and both from the Ishtar of Babylon, separate addresses being made to them in one and the same invocation.[12] It would appear that in this case there was, more decidedly than in any other, an identification of the divinity with her idols, from which resulted the multiplication of one goddess into many.

The name of Ishtar scarcely appears to have been used in Assyria in royal or other appellations. It is difficult to account for this fact, which is the more

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[7] See the Inscription of Sennacherib in the *Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol. xix. p. 170.

[8] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, pp. 40, 41.

[9] Sir H. Rawlinson, *Essay*, p. 522.

[10] Ibid. l. s. c.

[11] Sennacherib speaks of Asshur and Ishtar as about to "call the kings his sons to their sovereignty over Assyria," and begs Asshur and Ishtar to "hear their prayers." (*Journal of Asiatic Society*, l. s. c.)

[12] As in that of Esarhaddon (*Assyrian Texts*, p. 10) and in that of Sennacherib (*As. Soc. Journal*, vol. xix. p. 163). Compare the inscription on the slab brought from the Negub tunnel.

remarkable, since in Phœnicia Astarte, which corresponds closely to Ishtar, is found repeatedly as an element in the royal titles.[13]

NEBO.

Nebo must have been acknowledged as a god by the Assyrians from very ancient times, for his name occurs as an element in a royal appellation as early as the twelfth century, B.C.[14] He seems, however, to have been very little worshipped till the time of Iva-lush III., who first brought him prominently forward in the Pantheon of Assyria after an expedition which he conducted into Babylonia, where Nebo had always been in high favour. Iva-lush set up two statues to Nebo at Calah,[15] and probably built him the temple there which was known as Bit-Saggil, or Beth-Saggil, from whence the god derived one of his appellations.[16] He did not receive much honour from Sargon; but both Sennacherib and Esarhaddon held him in considerable reverence, the latter even placing him above Merodach in an important invocation.[17] Asshur-bani-pal also paid him considerable respect, mentioning him and his wife Warmita, as the deities under whose auspices he undertook certain literary labours.[18]

It is curious that Nebo, though he may thus almost be called a late importation into Assyria, became,

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[13] As in the names Astartus, Abdastartus, Delæastartus, and Gerastartus. (Menand. Ephes. Frs. 1 and 2.) In M. Oppert's list of Eponyms, only two out of more than 200 have names in which Ishtar is an element.

[14] See below, ch. ix. p. 307.

[15] One of these is represented in the woodcut, vol. i. p. 179. The two are, as nearly as possible, fac-similes.

[16] Nebo was called *Pal-Bit-Saggil*, as Ninip was called *Pal-Zira* and *Pal-Kura*. (Supra, p. 254; compare Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 524.)

[17] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 10.

[18] Sir H. Rawlinson, *Essay*, l. s. c.

under the Later Dynasty (apparently) one of the most popular of the gods. In the latter portion of the list of eponyms obtained from the celebrated "Canon," we find Nebo an element in the names as frequently as any other god excepting Asshur. Regarding this as a test of popularity, we should say that Asshur held the first place; but that his supremacy was closely contested by Bel and Nebo, who were held in nearly equal repute, both being far in advance of any other deity.

Besides these principal gods, the Assyrians acknowledged and worshipped a vast number of minor divinities, of whom, however, some few only appear to deserve special mention. It may be noticed in the first place, as a remarkable feature of this people's mythological system, that each important god was closely associated with a goddess, who is commonly called his wife, but who yet does not take rank in the Pantheon at all in accordance with the dignity of her husband.[1] Some of these goddesses have been already mentioned, as Beltis, the feminine counterpart of Bel; Gula, the Sun Goddess, the wife of Shamas; and Ishtar, who is sometimes represented as the wife of Nebo.[2] To the same class belong Sheruha, the wife of Asshur; Anata, or Anuta, the wife of Anu; Dav-Kina, the wife of Hea or Hoa; Shala, the wife of Vul or Iva; Zir-banit, the wife of Merodach; and Laz, the wife of Nergal. Nin, the Assyrian Hercules, and Sin, the moon-god, have also wives,

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[1] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay* in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 484, note [2]. While Beltis, the wife of Bel, and Gula, the wife of Shamas, are deities of high rank and importance, Sheruha, the wife of Asshur, and Anuta, the wife of Anu, occupy a very insignificant position.

[2] Supra, pp. 246, 252, and 257.

whose proper names are unknown, but who are entitled respectively "the Queen of the Land" and "the Great Lady."[3] Nebo's wife, according to most of the Inscriptions, is Warmita; but occasionally, as above remarked,[4] this name is replaced by that of Ishtar. A tabular view of the gods and goddesses thus far, will probably be found of use by the reader towards obtaining a clear conception of the Assyrian Pantheon :—

TABLE of the Chief ASSYRIAN DEITIES, arranged in their proper order.

Gods.	Correspondent Goddesses.	Chief Seat of Worship (if any).
Asshur ..	Sheruha	.. ..
Anu	Anuta	Asshur (Kileh-Sherghat).
Bel	Beltis	Asshur, Calah (Nimrud).
Hoa	Dav-Kina	Asshur, Calah.
Sin	"The Great Lady" ..	Calah, Bit-Sargina (Khorsabad).
Shamas ..	Gula	Bit-Sargina.
Iva	Shala	Asshur, Calah.
Nin ..	"The Queen of the Land"	Calah, Nineveh.
Merodach ..	Zir-banit	.. ..
Nergal ..	Laz	Tarbisi (Sherif-khan).
Nebo ..	Warmita (Ishtar?) ..	Calah.

It appears to have been the general Assyrian practice to unite together in the same worship, under the same roof, the female and the male principle.[5] The female deities had in fact, for the most part, an unsubstantial character; they were ordinarily the mere reflex image of the male, and consequently could not stand alone, but required the support of the stronger sex to give them something of substance and reality.

[3] Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, pp. 506 and 513. [4] Supra, p. 259. [5] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, § 9, note [6], p. 514.

This was the general rule; but at the same time it was not without certain exceptions. Ishtar appears almost always as an independent and unattached divinity;[6] while Beltis and Gula are presented to us in colours as strong and a form as distinct as their husbands Bel and Shamas. Again, there are minor goddesses, such as Telita, the goddess of the great marshes near Babylon,[7] who stand alone, unaccompanied by any male. The minor male divinities are also, it would seem, very generally without female counterparts.[8]

Of these minor male divinities the most noticeable are Martu, a son of Anu, who is called "the minister of the deep," and seems to correspond to the Greek Erebus;[9] Sargana, another son of Anu, from whom Sargon is thought by some to have derived his name;[1] Idak, god of the Tigris; Supulat, lord of the Euphrates;[2] and Il or Ra, who seems to be the Babylonian chief god transferred to Assyria, and there placed in a humble position.[3] Besides these, cuneiform scholars recognise in the Inscriptions some scores of divine names, of more or less doubtful etymology, some of which are thought to designate distinct gods, while

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[6] It is only in Babylonia, and even there during but one reign (that of Nebuchadnezzar), that Ishtar appears as the wife of Nebo. (See above, vol. i. p. 176.) Elsewhere she is separate and independent, attached as wife to no male deity, though not unfrequently conjoined with Asshur.

[7] Telita is, apparently, the goddess mentioned by Berosus as the original of the Greek *θάλασσα*. (Fr. 1.) The inscriptions of Sargon mention a city named after her, which was situated on the lower Tigris. This is probably the Θαλάθα of Ptolemy (*Geograph.* v. 20), which he places near the mouth of the river.

[8] Martu, however, has a wife, who is called "the lady of Tigganna" (Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, § 3, ii., note [9]), and Idak, the god of the Tigris (mentioned below) has a wife, Belat Muk (ibid. § 4, p. 526).

[9] See vol. i. p. 147.

[1] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 488.

[2] Ibid. p. 526.

[3] Tiglath-Pileser I. repairs a temple of Il or Ra at Asshur about B.C. 1150. (*Inscription*, pp. 56-58.) Otherwise we scarcely hear of the worship of Ra out of Babylonia.

others may be names of deities known familiarly to us under a different appellation.[4] Into this branch of the subject it is not proposed to enter in the present work, which addresses itself to the general reader.

It is probable that, besides gods, the Assyrians acknowledged the existence of a number of genii, some of whom they regarded as powers of good, others as powers of evil. The winged figure wearing the horned cap, which is so constantly represented as attending upon the monarch when he is employed in any sacred function,[5] would seem to be his tutelary genius —a benignant spirit who watches over him, and protects him from the spirits of darkness. This figure commonly bears in the right hand either a pomegranate or a pine-cone, while the left is either free or else supports a sort of plaited bag or basket. Where the pine-cone is carried, it is invariably pointed towards the monarch, as if it were the means of communication between the protector and the protected, the instrument by which grace and power passed from the genius to the mortal whom he had undertaken to guard. Why the pine-cone was chosen for this purpose it is difficult to form a conjecture. Perhaps it had originally become a sacred

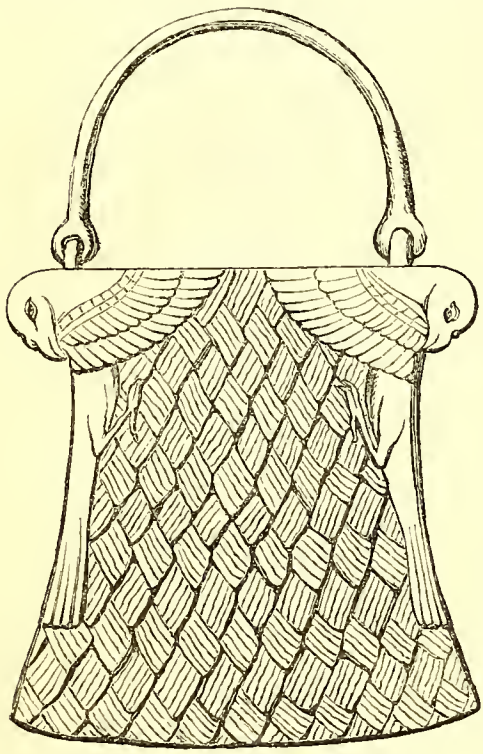
Winged figure in horned cap (Nimrud).

[4] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 527.

[5] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 6, 25, 36; Botta, *Monument*, Pls. 27 and 28.

emblem merely as a symbol of productiveness,[6] after which it was made to subserve a further purpose, without much regard to its old symbolical meaning.

The sacred basket, held in the left hand, is of still more dubious interpretation. It is an object of great elegance, always elaborately and sometimes very tastefully ornamented.[7] Possibly it may represent the receptacle in which the divine gifts are stored, and from which they can be taken by the genius at his discretion, to be bestowed upon the mortal under his care.



The sacred basket (Khorsabad).

Another good genius would seem to be represented by the hawk-headed figure, which is likewise found in attendance upon the monarch, attentively watching his proceedings. This figure has been called that of a god, and has been supposed to represent the Nisroch of Holy Scripture;[8] but the only ground for such an identification is the conjectural derivation of Nisroch from a root *nisr*, which in some Semitic languages signifies a "hawk" or "falcon." As *nisr*,

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[6] Supra, page 238.

[7] The basket is often ornamented with winged figures in adoration before the sacred tree, and themselves holding baskets. (See Layard, *Monuments*, First Series, Pls. 34 and 36.)

[8] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 459.

however, has not been found with any such meaning in Assyrian, and as the word "Nisroch" nowhere appears in the Inscriptions,[9] it must be regarded as in the highest degree doubtful whether there is any real connexion between the hawk-headed figure and the god in whose temple Sennacherib was assassinated. The various readings of the Septuagint version[10] make it extremely uncertain what was the name actually written in the original Hebrew text. Nisroch, which is utterly unlike any divine name hitherto found in the Assyrian records, is most probably a corruption. At any rate there are no sufficient grounds for identifying the god mentioned, whatever the true reading of his name may be, with the hawk-headed figure, which has the appearance of an attendant genius rather than that of a god, and which was certainly not included among the main deities of Assyria.[11]

The hawk-headed genius (Khorsabad).

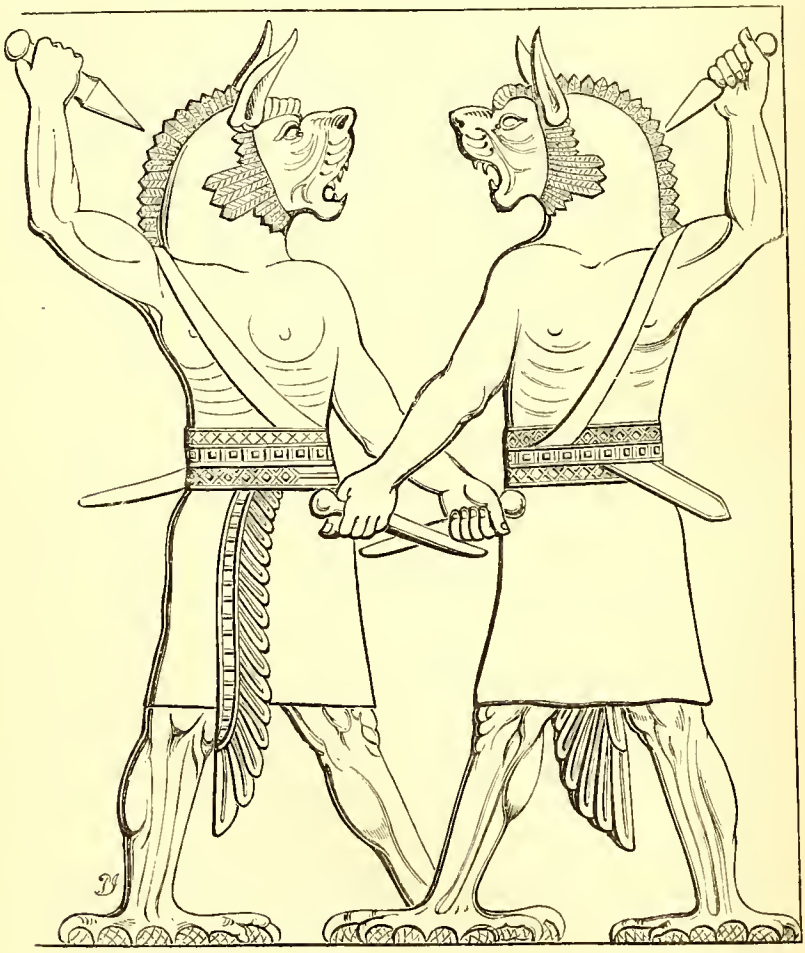
Representations of evil genii are comparatively infrequent; but we can scarcely be mistaken in regarding as either an evil genius, or a representation of the evil principle, the monster—half lion, half

[9] M. Oppert, it is true, reads a certain monogram as "Nisruk," and recognises in the god whom it designates—Hea or Hoa—the Nisroch of Holy Scripture. But sounder scholars regard his reading as a very wild and rash conjecture.

[10] In Is. xxxvii. 38 the MSS. give either Ἀσαράχ or Ναασαράχ. In 2 Kings xix. 37 the greater part of the MSS. have Μεσοράχ.

[11] The deities proper are not represented as *in attendance* on the monarch. This is an office too low for them. Occasionally, as in the case of Asshur, they *from heaven* guard and assist the king. But even this is exceptional. Ordinarily they stand, or sit, in solemn state to receive offerings and worship.

eagle—which in the Nimrud sculptures[12] retreats from the attacks of a god, probably Iva,[13] who assails him with thunderbolts. Again, in the case of certain grotesque statuettes found at Khorsabad, one of which is engraved in the first volume of this work,[14] where a human figure has the head of a lion with the ears of an ass, the most natural explanation seems to be that an evil genius is intended. In another instance, where we see two monsters with heads like the statuette just mentioned, placed on human bodies,



Evil genii contending (Koyunjik).

[12] A representation on a large scale is given by Mr. Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 5.

[13] See above, page 251.

[14] Supra, vol. i. p. 426.

the legs of which terminate in eagles' claws—both of them armed with daggers and maces, and engaged in a struggle with one another[15]—we seem to have a symbolical representation of the tendency of evil to turn upon itself, and reduce itself to feebleness by internal quarrel and disorder.[16] A considerable number of instances occur in which a human figure, with the head of a hawk or eagle, threatens a winged human-headed lion—the emblem of Nergal—with a strap or mace.[17] In these we may have a spirit of evil assailing a god, or possibly one god opposing another—the hawk-headed god or genius driving Nergal (*i. e.* War) beyond the Assyrian borders.

If we pass from the objects to the mode of worship in Assyria, we must notice at the outset the strongly idolatrous character of the religion. Not only were images of the gods worshipped set up, as a matter of course, in every temple dedicated to their honour, but the gods were sometimes so identified with their images as to be multiplied in popular estimation when they had several famous temples, in each of which was a famous image. Thus we hear of the Ishtar of Arbela, the Ishtar of Nineveh, and the Ishtar of Babylon, and find these goddesses invoked separately, as distinct divinities, by one and the same king in one and the same Inscription.[18] In other cases, without this multiplication, we observe expressions which imply a similar identification of the actual god with the mere image. Tiglath-Pileser I. boasts that

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[15] This scene was represented in the great palace of Asshur-bani-pal at Koyunjik. The sculpture is in the British Museum.

[16] This tendency is well illustrated by Plato in the first Book of his Republic, § 23.

[17] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 45, 1; 48, 3; 49, 4; compare above, vol. i. p. 431.

[18] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 10; *Journal of As. Society*, vol. xix. p. 163.

he has set Anu and Iva (*i. e.* their images) up in their places.[19] He identifies repeatedly the images which he carries off from foreign countries with the gods of those countries.[1] In a similar spirit Sennacherib asks, by the mouth of Rabshakeh, "*Where are the gods* of Hamath, and of Arpad? *Where are the gods* of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah?"[2]—and again, unable to rise to the conception of a purely spiritual deity, supposes that, because Hezekiah has destroyed all the images throughout Judæa,[3] he has left his people without any divine protection.[4] The carrying off of the idols from conquered countries, which we find universally practised, was not perhaps intended as a mere sign of the power of the conqueror, and of the superiority of his gods to those of his enemies: it was probably designed further to weaken those enemies by depriving them of their celestial protectors; and it may even have been viewed as strengthening the conqueror by multiplying his divine guardians. It was certainly usual to remove the images in a reverential manner;[5] and it was the custom to deposit them in some of the principal temples of Assyria.[6] We may presume that there lay at the root of this practice a real belief in the supernatural power of the images themselves, and a notion that, with the possession of the images, this power likewise changed sides, and passed over from the conquered to the conquerors.

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[19] *Inscription*, pp. 66 and 70.

[1] *Inscription*, pp. 28, 30, 40, 50, &c.

[2] 2 Kings xviii. 34. Sennacherib means to say—"Where are their gods now? [i. e. their idols.] Are they not captive in Assyria?" See above, p. 85.

[3] Ibid. verse 4.

[4] Ibid. verse 22.

[5] See the various representations of the removal of gods in Mr. Layard's works. (*Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 65 and 67 A; 2nd Series, Pl. 50; *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. opposite p. 451.)

[6] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, pp. 30 and 40.

Assyrian idols were in stone, baked clay, or metal. Stone images of Nebo and of Ishtar have been obtained from the ruins. Those of Nebo are standing figures, of a larger size than the human, though not greatly exceeding it. They have been much injured by time, and it is difficult to pronounce decidedly on their original workmanship; but, judging by what appears, it would seem to have been of a ruder and coarser character than that of the slabs or of the royal statues. The Nebo statues are heavy, formal, inexpressive, and not over well-proportioned; but they are not wanting in a certain quiet dignity which impresses the beholder.[7] They are unfortunately disfigured, like so many of the lions and bulls, by several lines of cuneiform writing inscribed round their bodies; but this artistic defect is pardoned by the antiquarian, who learns from the inscribed lines the fact that the statues represent Nebo, and the time and circumstances of their dedication.

Clay idols are very frequent. They are generally in a good material, and are of various sizes, yet never approaching to the full stature of humanity. Generally they are mere statuettes, less than a foot in height. Specimens have been selected for representation in the preceding volume, from which a general idea of their character is obtainable.[8] They are, like the stone idols, formal and inexpressive in style, while they are even ruder and coarser than those figures in workmanship. We must regard them as intended chiefly for private use among the mass of the population,[9] while we must view the stone idols as

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[7] See the representation, vol. i. p. 179.

[8] See vol. i. pp. 176, 425, and 426.

[9] Clay idols were also deposited in holes below the pavement of palaces, which (it may be supposed) were

the objects of public worship in the shrines and temples.

Idols in metal have not hitherto appeared among the objects recovered from the Assyrian cities. We may conclude, however, from the passage of Nahum prefixed to this chapter,[10] as well as from general probability, that they were known and used by the Assyrians, who seem to have even admitted them—no less than stone statues—into their temples. The ordinary metal used was no doubt bronze; but in Assyria as in Babylonia,[11] silver, and perhaps in some few instances gold, may have been employed for idols, in cases where they were intended as proofs to the world at large of the wealth and magnificence of a monarch.

The Assyrians worshipped their gods chiefly with sacrifices and offerings. Tiglath-Pileser I. relates that he offered sacrifice to Anu and Iva on completing the repairs of their temple.[12] Asshur-idannipal says that he sacrificed to the gods after embarking on the Mediterranean.[13] Iva-lush IV. sacrificed to Bel-Merodach, Nebo, and Nergal, in their respective high seats at Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha.[14] Sennacherib offered sacrifices to Hoa on the sea-shore after an expedition in the Persian Gulf.[15] Esarhaddon "slew great and costly sacrifices" at Nineveh upon completing his great palace in that capital.[16] Sacrifice

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thus placed under their protection. (See M. Botta's *Monument de Ninive*, vol. v. p. 41.)

[10] Nahum i. 14. "And the Lord hath given a commandment concerning thee (Nineveh), that no more of thy name be sown: out of the house of thy gods will I cut off the graven image and the *molten* image."

[11] Dan. iii. 1; Herod. i. 183; Diod. Sic. ii. 9, &c. Compare Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay* in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 517, note [8].

[12] *Inscription*, pp. 68-70.

[13] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 28.

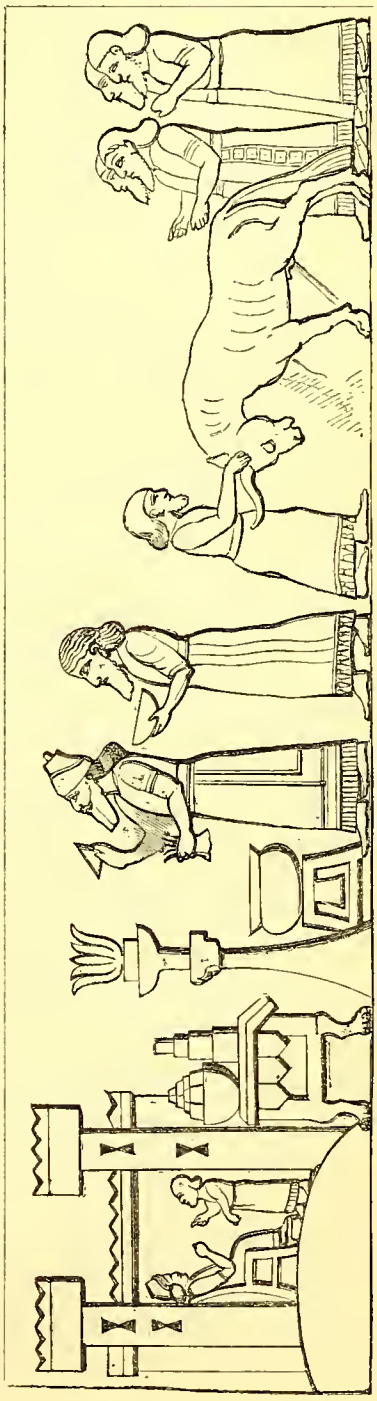
[14] Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 516.

[15] Ibid. p. 495.

[16] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 18.

was clearly regarded as a duty by the kings generally, and was the ordinary mode by which they propitiated the favour of the national deities.

With respect to the mode of sacrifice we have only a small amount of information, derived from a very few bas-reliefs. These unite in representing the bull as the special sacrificial animal.[17] In one[18] we simply see a bull brought up to a temple by the king; but in another,[19] which is more elaborate, we seem to have the whole of a sacrificial scene fairly, if not exactly, brought before us. Towards the front of a temple, where the god, recognisable by his horned cap, appears seated



Sacrificial scene (from an obelisk found at Nimrud).

[17] That sheep and goats were also used for sacrifice we learn from the inscriptions. (*Assyrian Texts*, pp. 3, 4.) There is one representation of a ram, or wild-goat, being led to the altar. (Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 469.)

[18] This is on Lord Aberdeen's Black Stone, a monument of the reign of Esarhaddon. A representation of it will be found in Mr. Fergusson's *Palaces of Nineveh Restored*, p. 298.

[19] This scene is represented on a mutilated obelisk belonging to the time of Asshur-idanni-pal, which is now in the British Museum. The sculptures on this curious monument are still unpublished.

upon a throne, with an attendant priest, who is beardless, paying adoration to him, advances a procession consisting of the king and six priests, one of whom carries a cup, while the other five are employed about the animal. The king pours a libation over a large bowl, fixed in a stand, immediately in front of a tall fire-altar, from which flames are rising. Close behind this stands the priest with a cup, from which we may suppose that the monarch will pour a second libation. Next we observe a bearded priest directly in front of the bull, checking the advance of the animal, which is not to be offered till the libation is over. The bull is also held by a pair of priests, who walk behind him and restrain him with a rope attached to one of his fore-legs a little above the hoof. Another pair of priests, following closely on the footsteps of the first pair, completes the procession : the four seem, from the position of their heads and arms, to be engaged in a solemn chant. It is probable, from the flame upon the altar,[1] that there is to be some burning of the sacrifice ; while it is evident, from the altar being of such a small size, that only certain parts of the animal can be consumed upon it. We may conclude therefore that the Assyrian sacrifices resembled those of the classical nations,[2] consisting not of whole burnt offerings, but of a selection of choice parts, regarded as specially pleasing to the gods, which were placed upon the altar and burnt, while the remainder of the victim was consumed by priest or people.

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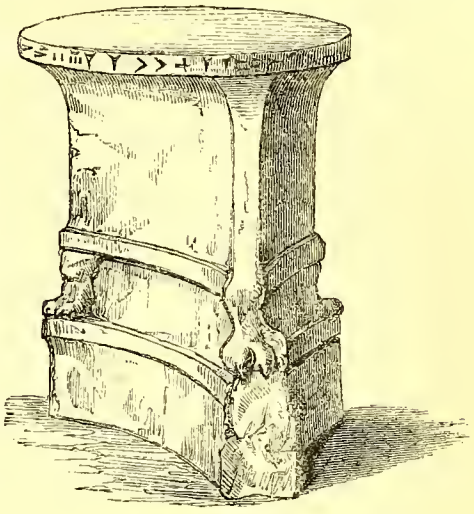
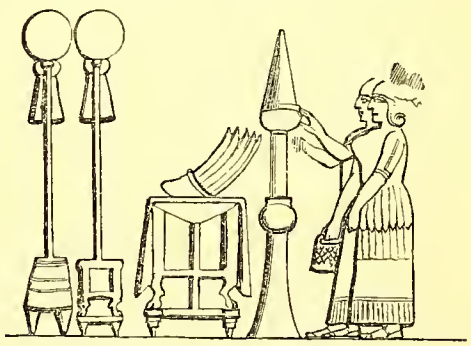
[1] Altars of the shape here represented are always crowned with flames, which generally take a conical shape, but are here made to spread into a number of tongues. At Khorsabad the flames on such altars were painted red. (Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, Pl. 146.)

[2] See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, sub voc. SACRIFICIUM.

Assyrian altars were of various shapes and sizes. One type was square, and of no great height; it had its top ornamented with gradines, below which the sides were either plain or fluted.[3] Another, which was also of moderate height, was triangular, but with a circular top, consisting of a single flat stone, perfectly plain, except that it was sometimes inscribed round the edge.[4] A third type is that represented in the sacrificial scene on the last page but one. This is a sort of portable stand—narrow, but of considerable height, reaching nearly to a man's chin. Altars of this kind seem to have been carried about by the Assyrians in their expeditions: we see them occasionally in the entrenched camps,[5] and observe priests officiating at them in their dress of office.



Triangular altar (Khorsabad).



Portable altar in an Assyrian camp, with priests offering (Khorsabad).

Besides their sacrifices of animals, the Assyrian kings were accustomed to deposit in the temples of their gods, as thank-

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 386, No. I., and p. 388, No. V.

[4] An altar of this shape was found by M. Botta at Khorsabad. (*Monument*, Pl. 157.) Another nearly similar was discovered by Mr. Layard at Nimrud (*Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 4), and is now in the British Museum.

[5] Botta, Pl. 146; Layard, 2nd Series, Pl. 24.

offerings, many precious products from the countries which they overran in their expeditions. Stones and marbles of various kinds, rare metals, and images of foreign deities, are particularly mentioned;[6] but it would seem to be most probable that some portion of all the more valuable articles was thus dedicated. Silver and gold were certainly used largely in the adornment of the temples, which are sometimes said to have been made "as splendid as the sun," by reason of the profuse employment upon them of these precious metals.[7]

It is difficult to determine how the ordinary worship of the gods was conducted. The sculptures are for the most part monuments erected by kings; and, when these have a religious character, they represent the performance by the kings of their own religious duties, from which little can be concluded as to the religious observances of the people. The kings seem to have united the priestly with the regal character; and in the religious scenes representing their acts of worship, no priest ever intervenes between them and the god, or appears to assume any but a very subordinate position. The king himself stands and worships in close proximity to the holy tree; with his own hand he pours libations; and it is not unlikely that he was entitled with his own arm to sacrifice victims.[8] But we can scarcely suppose that the people had these privileges. Sacerdotal ideas have prevailed in almost all Oriental monarchies, and it is notorious that they

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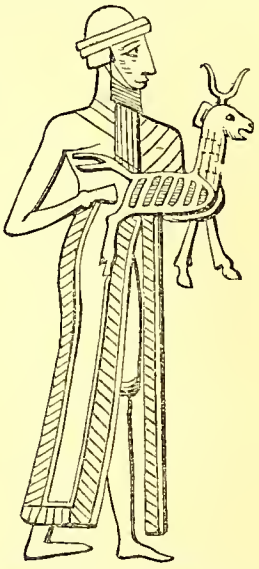
[6] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, pp. 30, 38, 66, &c.

[7] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 16.

[8] The kings often *say* that they sacrificed. (*Tiglath-Pileser Inscription*, pp. 66, and 68; *Assyrian Texts*, p. 18, &c.) But we cannot conclude from this with any certainty that it was with their own hand they slew the victims. (Compare 1 K. viii. 63.) Still they may have done so.

had a strong hold upon the neighbouring and nearly connected kingdom of Babylon. The Assyrians generally, it is probable, approached the gods through their priests; and it would seem to be these priests who are represented upon the cylinders as introducing worshippers to the gods, dressed themselves in long robes, and with a curious mitre upon their heads. The worshipper seldom comes empty-handed. He carries commonly in his arms an antelope or young goat,[9] which we may presume to be an offering intended to propitiate the deity.



Worshipper bringing an offering (from a cylinder).

It is remarkable that the priests in the sculptures are generally, if not invariably, beardless.[10] It is scarcely probable that they were eunuchs, since mutilation is in the East always regarded as a species of degradation. Perhaps they merely shaved the beard for greater cleanliness, like the priests of the Egyptians;[11] and possibly it was a custom only obligatory on the upper grades of the priesthood.[12]

We have no evidence of the establishment of set

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[9] Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pls. xxxvii. No. 7; xxxviii. Nos. 2, 3, 6; xxxix. No. 7, &c.

[10] See Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pls. 24 and 50; Botta, *Monument*, Pl. 146. If the figure carrying an antelope, and having on the head a highly ornamented fillet (Botta, Pl. 43) is a priest, and if that character belongs to the attendants in the sacrificial scene above represented (supra, p. 271) we must consider that the beard was worn, at least by some grades of the priesthood.

[11] Herod. iii. 37.

[12] Observe that in the sacrificial scene (supra, p. 271) the priest who approaches close to the god is beardless; and that in the camp scene (Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 50) the priest in a tall cap is shaven, while the other, who has no such dignified head-dress, wears a beard.

festivals in Assyria. Apparently the monarchs decided, of their own will, when a feast should be held to any god;[13] and, proclamation being made, the feast was held accordingly. Vast numbers, especially of the chief men, were assembled on such occasions; numerous sacrifices were offered, and the festivities lasted for several days. A considerable proportion of the worshippers were accommodated in the royal palace, to which the temple was ordinarily a mere adjunct, being fed at the king's cost, and lodged in the halls and other apartments.[14]

The Assyrians made occasionally a religious use of fasting. The evidence on this point is confined to the Book of Jonah,[15] which, however, distinctly shows both the fact and the nature of the usage. When a fast was proclaimed, the king, the nobles, and the people exchanged their ordinary apparel for sackcloth, sprinkled ashes upon their heads, and abstained alike from food and drink until the fast was over. The animals also that were within the walls of the city where the fast was commanded, had sackcloth placed upon them;[1] and the same abstinence was enforced upon them as was enjoined on the inhabitants. Ordinary business was suspended, and the whole population united in prayer to Asshur, the supreme god, whose pardon they entreated, and whose favour they sought to propitiate. These proceedings were not merely formal. On the occasion mentioned in the

[13] *Assyrian Texts*, pp. 11 and 18. Compare the Black Obelisk Inscription, p. 426.

[14] See the account given by Esarhaddon of his great festival (*Assyrian Texts*, p. 18).

[15] Jonah iii. 5-9.

[1] There is a remarkable parallel to this in a Persian practice mentioned by Herodotus (ix. 24). In the mourning for Masistius, a little before the battle of Platæa, the Persian troops not only shaved off their own hair, but similarly disfigured their horses and their beasts of burthen.

Book of Jonah, the repentance of the Ninevites seems to have been sincere. "God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil that he had said that he would do unto them: and he did it not." [2]

The religious sentiment appears, on the whole, to have been strong and deep-seated among the Assyrians. Although religion had not the prominence in Assyria which it possessed in Egypt, or even in Greece—although the temple was subordinated to the palace,[3] and the most imposing of the representations of the gods[4] were degraded to mere architectural ornaments—yet the Assyrians appear to have been really, nay, even earnestly, religious. Their religion, it must be admitted, was of a sensuous character. They not only practised image-worship, but believed in the actual power of the idols to give protection or work mischief; nor could they rise to the conception of a purely spiritual and immaterial deity. Their ordinary worship was less one of prayer than one by means of sacrifices and offerings. They could, however, we know, in the time of trouble, utter sincere prayers; and we are bound therefore to credit them with an honest purpose in respect of the many solemn addresses and invocations which occur both in their public and their private documents. The numerous mythological tablets[5] testify to the large amount of attention which was paid to religious subjects by the learned; while the general character of their names, and the practice of inscribing sacred figures and emblems upon the signets, which was almost universal,

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[2] Jonah iii. 10.
[3] See above, vol. i. p. 348.
[4] The winged bulls and lions, which respectively symbolize Nin and Nergal.
[5] Supra, vol. i. p. 495.

seem to indicate a spirit of piety on the part of the mass of the people.

The sensuous cast of the religion naturally led to a pompous ceremonial, a fondness for processional display, and the use of magnificent vestments. These last are represented with great minuteness in the Nimrud sculptures.[6] The dresses of those engaged in sacred functions seem to have been elaborately embroidered, for the most part with religious figures and emblems, such as the winged circle, the pine-cone, the pomegranate, the sacred tree, the human-headed lion, and the like. Armlets, bracelets, necklaces, and ear-rings were worn by the officiating priests, whose heads were either encircled with a richly-ornamented fillet,[7] or covered with a mitre or high cap of imposing appearance.[8] Musicians had a place in the processions, and accompanied the religious ceremonies with playing or chanting, or, in some instances, possibly with both.

It is remarkable that the religious emblems of the Assyrians are almost always free from that character of grossness which, in the classical works of art, so often offends modern delicacy. The sculptural remains present us with no representations at all parallel to the phallic emblems of the Greeks. Still we are perhaps not entitled to conclude, from this comparative purity, that the Assyrian religion was really exempt from that worst feature of idolatrous systems—a licensed religious sensualism. According to Herodotus, the Babylonian worship of Beltis was disgraced by a practice which even he, heathen as he

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[6] See Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 5, 6, 8, 9, &c.

[7] Botta, *Monument*, Pl. 43.

[8] Supra, p. 203.

was, regarded as "most shameful."[9] Women were required once in their lives to repair to the temple of this goddess, and there offer themselves to the embrace of the first man who desired their company. In the Apocryphal Book of Baruch we find a clear allusion to the same custom,[10] so that there can be little doubt of its having really obtained in Babylonia; but if so, it would seem to follow, almost as a matter of course, that the worship of the same identical goddess in the adjoining country included a similar usage. It may be to this practice that the prophet Nahum alludes, where he denounces Nineveh as a "well-favoured harlot," the multitude of whose harlotries was notorious.[11]

Such then was the general character of the Assyrian religion. We have no means of determining whether the cosmogony of the Chaldæans formed any part of the Assyrian system, or was confined to the lower country. No ancient writer tells us anything of the Assyrian notions on this subject, nor has the decipherment of the monuments thrown as yet any light upon it. It would be idle therefore to prolong the present chapter by speculating upon a matter concerning which we have at present no authentic data.

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[9] Herod. i. 199. Αἴσχιστος τῶν νόμων.

[10] Baruch vi. 43. "The women also with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume; but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproaches her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken."

[11] Nahum iii. 4. It is, however, more likely that the allusion is to the idolatrous practices of the Ninevites. (See above, vol. i. p. 307, note [1].)

CHAPTER IX.

CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY.

Τὰ παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα εὗρον, χαλεπὰ ὄντα παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πιστεῦσαι. —THUCYD. i. 20.

THE chronology of the Assyrian kingdom has long exercised, and divided, the judgments of the learned. On the one hand, Ctesias and his numerous followers—including, among the ancients, Cephalion, Castor, Diodorus Siculus, Nicolas of Damascus, Trogus Pompeius, Velleius Paterculus, Josephus, Eusebius, and Moses of Chorêné; among the moderns, Freret, Rollin, and Clinton—have given the kingdom a duration of between thirteen and fourteen hundred years, and carried back its antiquity to a time almost coeval with the founding of Babylon; on the other, Herodotus, Berosus (as reported by Polyhistor), Africanus, Volney, Heeren, B. G. Niebuhr, Brandis, and many others, have preferred a chronology which limits the duration of the kingdom to about six centuries and a half, and places the commencement in the thirteenth century B.C., when a flourishing Empire had already existed in Chaldæa, or Babylonia, for near a thousand years, or possibly for a longer period.[1] The questions thus mooted remain still, despite of the volumes which have been

[1] If we credit the "Median dynasty" of Berosus, we must date the commencement of a monarchy in Chaldæa from B.C. 2458, nearly twelve centuries before B.C. 1273, when the Assyrian kingdom began according to the chronology of Berosus and Herodotus.

written upon them,[2] so far undecided, that it will be necessary to entertain and discuss them at some length in this place, before entering on the historical sketch which is needed to complete our account of the Second Monarchy.

The duration of a single empire continuously for 1306 (or 1360) years,[3] which is the time assigned to the Assyrian Monarchy by Ctesias, must be admitted to be a thing hard of belief, if not actually incredible. The Roman State, with all its elements of strength, had (we are told), as kingdom, commonwealth, and empire, a duration of no more than twelve centuries.[4] The Chaldæan Monarchy lasted, as we have seen,[5] about seven. The duration of the Parthian was about five;[6] of the first Persian, less than two and a half;[7] of the Median, at the utmost, one and a half;[8] of the later Babylonian, less than one.[9] The only monarchy existing under conditions at all similar to Assyria, whereto an equally long—or rather a still longer—duration has been assigned with some show of reason, is Egypt.[10] But there, it is

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[2] See particularly the long Essays of the Abbé Sevin and of Freret in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vols. iv. and vii. (12th edition). Compare Volney, *Recherches sur l'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i., pp. 381-511, and Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i. Ap. ch. iv.

[3] The latter is the number in the present text of Diodorus (ii. 21). But Agathias and Syncellus seem to have had 1306 in their copies. (See Agath. ii. 25, p. 120; Syncell. p. 359, C. Compare Augustin. *Civ. D.* xviii. 21.)

[4] See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. xxv. (vol. iv. pp. 251, 252, Smith's edition).

[5] Supra, vol. i. p. 193. Compare pp. 197 and 223.

[6] From B.C. 256 to A.D. 226. (See Heeren's *Manual of Ancient History*, pp. 299-304, E. T.)

[7] From B.C. 559 to B.C. 331, the date of the battle of Arbela.

[8] Herod. i. 130.

[9] From B.C. 625 to B.C. 538. (See the next volume.)

[10] Moderate Egyptologers refer the commencement of a settled monarchy in Egypt to about B.C. 2600 or 2500 (Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 288-290; Stuart Poole in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, ad. voc. CHRONOLOGY.) Mr. Palmer (*Egyptian Chronicles*, vol. ii. p. 896)

admitted that the continuity was interrupted by the long foreign domination of the Hyksos, and by at least one other foreign conquest—that of the Ethiopian Sabacos or Sheheks. According to Ctesias, one and the same dynasty occupied the Assyrian throne during the whole period of thirteen hundred years, Sardanapalus, the last king in his list, being the descendant and legitimate successor of Ninus.[11]

There can be no doubt that a monarchy lasting about six centuries and a half, and ruled by at least two dynasties, is *per se* a thing far more probable than one ruled by one and the same dynasty for more than thirteen centuries. And, therefore, if the historical evidence in the two cases is at all equal —or rather, if that which supports the more improbable account does not greatly preponderate—we ought to give credence to the more moderate and probable of the two statements.

To decide on the value of the historical evidence in the two cases, it will be of no real service to exhibit lists of the authors who have taken the one or the other view. As modern philological criticism recognises the fact, that it is not the number but the quality of the manuscripts which support a reading that gives it importance,[12] so historical criticism ought distinctly to maintain and declare that the real question, in every case of disputed history, is not how many authorities are adducible on either side, but what is the balance of really distinct, indepen-

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brings the date down to B.C. 2224, and Mr. Nash (*Pharaoh of the Exodus*, p. 305) to B.C. 1785. The lowest of these dates would make the whole duration, from Menes to Nectanebus, fourteen and a half centuries.

[11] Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 21, § 8.

[12] For this valuable distinction, or at least for the general recognition of its value by modern critics, we are indebted to the genius of Lachmann.

dent, and trustworthy testimony? Twenty manuscripts will often not outweigh—nay, will sometimes be outweighed by—a single one, if the twenty are all traceable to one source, and that source is for any reason liable to suspicion. And so it is with authors. Where later writers manifestly do but re-echo the statements made by an earlier one, however numerous they are, however accordant, they add nothing at all to the credibility of the original authority. If that authority is known to be weak, no frequency of citation from him, no amount of parrot-like repetition of his words, can make him strong. The whole evidence resolves itself into the evidence of the first witness, and must stand or fall with his trustworthiness.

In the present case there seem to be three, and three only, distinct original authorities—Herodotus, Ctesias, and Berosus. Of these Herodotus is the earliest. He writes within two centuries of the termination of the Assyrian rule,[1] whereas Ctesias writes thirty,[2] and Berosus a hundred and fifty years later.[3] He is of unimpeachable honesty, and may be thoroughly trusted to have reported only what he had heard.[4] He had travelled in the East, and had done his best to obtain accurate information upon Oriental matters, consulting on the subject,

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[1] The Assyrian rule terminated B.C. 625 (or, according to some, B.C. 606). Herodotus seems to have died about B.C. 425. (See the author's *Herodotus*, Introduction, ch. i. p. 27, 2nd edition.)

[2] Ctesias returned from Persia to Greece in the year B.C. 398. (See Mure's *Literature of Greece*, vol. v. p. 483.) He may have published his 'Persica' about B.C. 395. Xenophon quotes it about B.C. 380.

[3] Berosus dedicated his work to Antiochus Soter, whose first year was B.C. 280. (See the *Fr. Hist. Gr.* vol. ii. p. 495.)

[4] See the author's *Herodotus*, Introduction, ch. iii. (vol. i. pp. 61-64, 2nd ed.). Compare Mure's *Literature of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 351.

among others, the Chaldæans of Babylon.[5] He had, moreover, taken special pains to inform himself upon all that related to Assyria, which he designed to make the subject of an elaborate work distinct from his general history.[6]

Ctesias, like Herodotus, had had the advantage of visiting the East. It may be argued that he possessed even better opportunities than the earlier writer for becoming acquainted with the views which the Orientals entertained of their own past. Herodotus probably devoted but a few months, or at most a year or two, to his Oriental travels; Ctesias passed seventeen years at the Court of Persia.[7] Herodotus was merely an ordinary traveller, and had no peculiar facilities for acquiring information in the East; Ctesias was court-physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon,[8] and was thus likely to gain access to any archives which the Persian kings might have in their keeping.[9] But these advantages seem to have been more than neutralised by the temper and spirit of the man. He commenced his work with the broad assertion that Herodotus was "a liar,"[10] and was therefore bound to differ from him when he treated of the same periods or nations. He does differ from him, and also from Thucydides,[11] whenever they handle the same transactions; but in no single instance where

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[5] Herod. i. 183.

[6] Ibid. i. 106 and 184. Whether this intention was ever executed or no, is still a moot point among scholars. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 198, 199, note [7], 2nd edit.)

[7] Diod. Sic. ii. 32, § 4.

[8] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 26.

[9] Ctesias appears to have stated that he drew his history from documents written upon parchment belonging to the Persian kings (ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν διφθερῶν, Diod. Sic. l. s. c.).

[10] Phot. *Bibliothec.* Cod. LXXII., p. 107.

[11] Compare Ctes. *Pers. Exc.* § 32 et seq. with Thucyd. i. 104, 109, and 110.

he differs from either writer does his narrative seem to be worthy of credit. The cuneiform monuments, while they generally confirm Herodotus, contradict Ctesias perpetually.[12] He is at variance with Manetho on Egyptian, with Ptolemy on Babylonian, chronology.[13] No independent writer confirms him on any important point. His Oriental history is quite incompatible with the narrative of Scripture.[14] On every ground, the judgment of Aristotle, of Plutarch, of Arrian, of Scaliger,[15] and of almost all the best critics of modern times,[16] with respect to the credibility of Ctesias, is to be maintained, and his authority is to be regarded as of the very slightest value in determining any controverted matter.

Berosus, the last of the three independent writers on Assyrian chronology, has special claims to attention as an Oriental, and not a Greek. He was one of the learned class, or caste, in Babylonia, whom the Greeks called Chaldæans,[17] and regarded as priests;[18] he lived at the time of Alexander's conquests, and shortly afterwards wrote the history of his nation in Greek, for the enlightenment of the masters of Asia. The early part of his chronology is exaggerated,[19] and his cosmogony is grotesque

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[12] For proofs see the author's *Herodotus*, Introduction, ch. iii. (vol. i. p. 63, note [8]).

[13] In the number of years which he assigns to the reigns of Cambyses and Darius Hystaspis.

[14] *E. g.* he places the destruction of Nineveh about B.C. 875, long before the time of Jonah!

[15] See Arist. *Hist. An.* ii. 3, § 10; iii. sub fin.; viii. 26, § 3; *Gen. An.* ii. 2; *Pol.* v. 8; Plut. *Vit. Artaxerx.* 13; Arrian. *Exp. Alex.* v. 4; Scaliger, *De emend. temp.* Not. ad Fragm. subj. pp. 39-43.

[16] As Niebuhr (*Lectures on Ancient History*, vol. i. pp. 21, 22, 28, 30); Bunsen (*Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. iii. p. 432); Mure (*History of Greek Literature*, vol. v. pp. 487-497), &c.

[17] See Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* i. 3, § 6. On the true character of the Chaldæans of Persian times see the article upon them in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*.

[18] Herod. i. 181; Diod. Sic. ii. 29; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 16.

[19] Supra, vol. i. p. 190.

and almost ludicrous;[20] but otherwise his narrative seems entitled, if not to implicit credit, at any rate to consideration and respect. His history generally is in accordance with the narrative of Scripture; it has been confirmed in numerous points, and never once contradicted, by the cuneiform monuments; and its agreement with them is often so close as to raise a suspicion that it was drawn from the identical documents which modern research has recovered.[21] The honesty of Berosus in reporting his country's traditions is unquestionable, and in fact has never been impugned. As a Chaldæan, he must have been learned in all the traditional lore of his people, while he must also have had access to all such records as time had spared to his day. His authority, therefore, notwithstanding his comparatively late date, is rightly regarded as being, on Oriental subjects, greater than even that of Herodotus, his access to documents and his knowledge of the traditions of his nation outweighing that writer's greater proximity to the events of Assyrian and Babylonian history.

It appears, then, that, of the three independent and original authorities on the subject of Assyrian history, two are valuable, while one is worthless, or little better than worthless. The statements of Ctesias are entitled to no consideration at all; those of Herodotus and Berosus deserve the most careful attention.

Now Herodotus tells us that the Assyrian monarchy terminated in the reign of Cyaxares,[1] which comprised,

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[20] Supra, vol. i. pp. 180-183.

[21] Compare, for instance, the account which Berosus gives of the building of his new palace by Nebuchadnezzar with the Standard Inscription of that monarch.

[1] Herod. i. 106.

according to him, the forty years intervening between B.C. 633 and B.C. 593.[2] Its origin he places six hundred years (or a little more[3]) before the accession of Cyaxares, which would imply that the Empire commenced in the thirteenth century before our era. No exact date for the commencement can be obtained from this writer, because he leaves an interval, which he does not estimate, between the close of the first or Assyrian period, to which he assigns 520 years, and the opening of the second or Median period, which lasted (according to him) exactly a century and a half.[4] His scheme of Assyrian chronology may be thus represented—

Great Assyrian Empire			520 years
Reduced Assyrian Kingdom	Anarchy in Media	x years	$105+x$ years
	Reign of Deioces in Media	53 years	
	Reign of Phraortes in Media	22 years	
	Reign of Cyaxares up to the capture of Nineveh	circ. 30 years[5]	
	Total		$625+x$ years

To obtain for this scheme a series even of approximate dates, it is necessary to form some estimate of the duration which Herodotus meant to ascribe to the Median anarchy. Now his direct narrative shows that

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[2] Herodotus places the death of Cyaxares 113 years before the battle of Salamis. Assuming that battle to have been fought B.C. 480, we obtain B.C. 593 for the death and B.C. 633 for the accession of Cyaxares.

[3] The Assyrian "Empire," according to Herodotus (i. 95), lasted 520 years. The Medes then revolted, and remained for some time without a king. After a while the regal power was conferred on Deioces, who reigned 53 years. He was succeeded by his son Phraortes, who reigned 22 years. Thus we have $520 + 53 + 22 + x = 595 + x$ for the duration of the Assyrian monarchy up to the accession of Cyaxares. If x represents a term exceeding 5 years the origin of the empire will be referred to a time *at least* 600 years before Cyaxares.

[4] Herod. i. 130.

[5] Herodotus makes Cyaxares begin his reign by an attack on Assyria. He is besieging Nineveh when he is called off by an invasion of Scyths. These nomads hold possession of Western Asia for 28 years, when they are finally subdued by Cyaxares. *After this* he attacks Nineveh a second time and takes it. Evidently the capture, according to Herodotus, cannot take place before Cyaxares' thirtieth year.

a space of some considerable length was intended;[6] while indirect notices in his work lead to the conclusion that his estimate for the period was about a generation,[7] or $33\frac{1}{3}$ years. If we assume this as the true value of x in the above scheme, we must say that Herodotus made the whole duration of the Assyrian power $658\frac{1}{3}$ years, which he divided into two periods, one of 520, and the other of $138\frac{1}{3}$ years. As he placed the close of this latter period in about the thirtieth year of Cyaxares, or B.C. 603 (according to him), he must have placed its commencement in about B.C. 742, while to the earlier period he must have ascribed the space between B.C. 742 and B.C. 1262.

The chronology of Berosus was, apparently, not very different. Berosus placed the destruction of Nineveh in the first year of Nabopolassar,[8] or B.C. 625, according to the Canon of Ptolemy. He allowed an interval of 122 years between this event and the accession of Nabonassar.[9] Prior to this he regarded Babylon as ruled by Assyrians for 526 years.[10] He thus placed the commencement of the Empire in B.C. 1273, the independence of Babylon in B.C. 747, and the final ruin of Assyria in B.C. 625. The resemblance of his scheme to that of Herodotus,

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[6] See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 371, note 4.

[7] Herodotus regarded the Lydian kingdom as founded by Agron son of Ninus (i. 7), one generation, therefore, later than the Assyrian. The Lydian, according to him, commenced ab. B.C. 1229, the Assyrian, consequently, ab. B.C. 1262. But if we deduct from B.C. 1262 B.C. 708 (his date for the accession of Deioces) we have exactly 34 years, which is, as nearly as possible, his estimate for a generation. (See Herod. ii. 142.)

[8] The direct authority for this important fact is Abydenus (Fr. 11); but I think there can be no doubt that he here represents Berosus.

[9] I assume here that the Canon of Ptolemy, from whatever source he derived it, came originally from Berosus, with all whose statements it accords.

[10] Beros. Fr. 11.

and the differences between the two, will be best seen by placing them side by side.

ASSYRIAN CHRONOLOGY.

According to Herodotus.	B.C.	B.C.
Great Empire, lasting 520 years..	1262	to 742
Revolt of Medes	742	
Curtailed Kingdom, lasting 139 yrs.	742	to 603
Destruction of Nineveh.. ..	603	

According to Berosus	B.C.	B.C.
Great dynasty of 45 kings, reigning 526 years	1273	to 747
Independence of Babylon ..	747	
Lower dynasty of x kings, reigning 122 years	747	to 625
Destruction of Nineveh.. ..	625	

The result may be thus expressed. Herodotus and Berosus agreed in assigning the commencement of a great Assyrian Empire to the earlier half of the thirteenth century before our era. They agreed in marking out for the first period of this Empire a space somewhat exceeding five centuries. Berosus, holding that he possessed a complete and accurate chronology, gave for this period the exact number of 526 years. Herodotus, feeling less confidence in his information, preferred the round number of 520 years. With regard to the second period, there was a greater variation. Berosus made it last 122 years, and terminate B.C. 625; Herodotus gave it a duration of at least 139 years, and made it terminate B.C. 603, or a little later.[1] They agreed that the duration of the Second or Lower Kingdom was between a century and a century and a half, and that the power of Assyria came to an end in the latter half of the seventh century B.C.

In the case of a history so ancient as that of Assyria, we might well be content if our chronology were vague merely to the extent of the variations here indicated. The parade of exact dates with

[1] Herodotus cannot have placed the fall of Nineveh earlier than B.C. 603 (see above, note [5]). But he may not improbably have placed it three or four years later.

reference to very early times is generally fallacious, unless it be understood as adopted simply for the sake of convenience. In the history of Assyria, however, we may make a nearer approach to exactness than in most others of the same antiquity, owing to the existence of two chronological documents of first-rate importance. One of these is the famous Canon of Ptolemy, which, though it is directly a Babylonian record, has important bearings on the chronology of Assyria. The other is an Assyrian Canon, discovered and edited by Sir H. Rawlinson in 1862,[2] which gives the succession of the kings for 270 years, commencing (as is thought) B.C. 910 and terminating B.C. 640, twenty-seven years after the accession of the son and successor of Esarhaddon. These two documents, which harmonise admirably, carry up an *exact* Assyrian chronology almost from the close of the Empire to the tenth century before our era. For the period anterior to this we have, in the Assyrian records, one or two isolated dates, fixed in later times with more or less of exactness; and we have the important statement of Herodotus, confirmed to some extent by Berosus, that the Empire commenced about B.C. 1260 or 1270. We have, further, certain lists of kings, forming continuous lines of descent from father to son, by means of which we may fill up the blanks that would otherwise remain in our chronological scheme with approximate dates calculated from an estimate of generations. From these various sources the subjoined scheme has been composed, the sources being indicated at the side, and the fixed dates being

[2] See *Athenæum*, No. 1812. M. Oppert's claim to the first publication of this document (*Inscriptions des Sargonides* p. 15) is simply (and literally) preposterous.

carefully distinguished from those which are uncertain or approximate.

KINGS OF ASSYRIA.

B.C.	B.C.			
Ab. 1650	to 1550	Asshur-bel-nisis Buzur-Asshur Asshur-vatila	Mentioned on a synchronistic tablet, which connects them with the time of Purna-puriyas, the early Chaldæan king.	Early Kingdom.
		* * * *		
— 1450	(?)	Bel-sumili-kapi	Mentioned on a genealogical slab as the founder of a dynasty. Date very uncertain.	
		* * * *		
— 1350	to 1330	Bel-lush	Names found on Kileh-Sherghat bricks, vases, &c. Shalmaneser mentioned also on a genealogical slab and in the standard inscription of Nimrud.	
— 1330	to 1310	Pud-il (his son)		
— 1310	to 1290	Iva-lush I. (his son)		
— 1290	to 1270	Shalmaneser I. (his son)		
— 1270	to 1250	Tiglathi-Nin (his son)	Mentioned on a genealogical tablet. Tiglathi-Nin called "the conqueror of Babylon," and placed by Sennacherib 600 years before his own capture of Babylon.	Great Empire of Herodotus. 526 years of Berosus.
— 1250	to 1230	Iva-lush II. (his son)		
		* * * *		
— 1210	to 1190	Nin-pala-zira	Names given in cylinder of Tiglath-pileser I.	
— 1190	to 1170	Asshur-dah-il (his son)		
— 1170	to 1150	Mutaggil-Nebo (his son)		
— 1150	to 1130	Asshur-ris-ilim (his son)	Mentioned on the synchronistic tablet above spoken of. Date of Tiglath-pileser I. fixed by the Bavian inscription. Dates of the other kings calculated from his at 20 years to a generation.	
— 1130	to 1110	Tiglath-pileser I. (his son)		
— 1110	to 1090	Asshur-bil-kala (his son)		
		* * * *		
		Asshur-mazur	Mentioned in an inscription of Shalmaneser II.	
		* * * *		
— 950	to 930	Asshur-iddin-akhi	The kings from Asshur-danin-il I. to Iva-lush IV. are proved to have been in direct succession by the Kileh-Sherghat and Nimrud monuments. The last nine reigns are given, with most of the names, in the newly-discovered Canon. The Canon is the sole authority for the last three. The dates of the whole series are determined from the Canon of Ptolemy by calculating back from B.C. 680, his date for the accession of Esar-haddon (Asaridanus).	
— 930	to 910	Asshur-danin-il I.		
910	to 890	Ivalush III. (his son)		
890	to 884	Tiglathi-Nin II. (his son)		
884	to 859	Asshur-idanni-pal (his son)		
859	to 824	Shalmaneser II. (his son)		
824	to 810	Shamas-Iva (his son)		
810	to 781	Iva-lush IV. (his son)		
781	to 770	Shalmaneser III.		
770	to 752	Asshur-danin-il II.		
752	to 744	Asshur-lush		
744	to 726	Tiglath-pileser II.	The years of these kings, from Esar-haddon upwards, are taken from the Assyrian Canon, which, however, gives only a regnal division without a name in the position occupied by "Shalmaneser IV." The dates accord strictly with the Canon of Ptolemy. The year B.C. 667 for the accession of Asshur-bani-pal is obtained from a notice on a barrel-cylinder which seems to make that event synchronise with the accession of Saosduchinus in Babylon. The last year of Asshur-bani-pal is conjectural.	Later Kingdom of Herodotus and Berosus.
726	to 721	(Shalmaneser IV. ?)		
721	to 704	Sargon		
704	to 680	Sennacherib (his son)		
680	to 667	Esar-haddon (his son)		
667	to 647(?)	Asshur-bani-pal (his son)		
647(?)	to 625	Asshur-emid-ilin		

It will be observed that in this list the chronology of Assyria is carried back to a period more than

three centuries anterior to B.C. 1270, the approximate date, according to Herodotus and Berosus, of the establishment of the "Empire." It might have been concluded from the mere statements of those writers, that Assyria existed before the time of which they spoke, since an Empire can only be formed by a people already flourishing. Assyria as an independent Kingdom, is the natural antecedent of Assyria as an Imperial Power; and this earlier phase of her existence might reasonably have been presumed from the later.[1] The monuments furnish distinct evidence of the time in question in the first three kings of the above list, who reigned while the Chaldæan Empire was still flourishing in Lower Mesopotamia.[2] Chronological and other considerations induce a belief that the last four kings assigned to the early period likewise belonged to it; and that the "Empire" commenced with Tiglathi-Nin I., who is the first great conqueror.

The date assigned to the accession of this king, B.C. 1270, which accords so nearly with Berosus' date for the commencement of his 526 years, is obtained from the monuments in the following manner. Sennacherib, in an inscription set up in or about his 10th year, (which was B.C. 694) states that he recovered from Babylon certain images of gods, which had been carried thither by Merodach-iddin-akhi, king of Babylon, who had obtained them in his war with Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, 418 years previously.[3] This gives for the date

[1] Some writers have endeavoured to reconcile Ctesias with Herodotus by supposing the former to speak of the beginning of the *kingdom* of Assyria, the latter of the commencement of the *empire*. (See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i. Appendix, ch. iv.) But this is a mere forced and artificial mode of producing an apparent reconciliation, since it was really the *Empire* which Ctesias made to begin with Ninus and Semiramis (Diod. Sic. ii. 1-19).

[2] Infra, p. 299.

[3] This important statement is contained in a rock-inscription at Bavian.

of the war with Tiglath-Pileser the year B.C. 1112. As that monarch does not mention the Babylonian war in the annals which relate the events of his early years,[4] we may suppose his defeat to have taken place towards the close of his reign, and assign him the space from B.C. 1130 to B.C. 1110, as, approximately, that during which he is likely to have held the throne. Allowing then to the six monumental kings, who preceded Tiglath-Pileser, average reigns of twenty years each, which is the actual average furnished by the lines of direct descent in Assyria where the length of each reign is known,[5] and, allowing also twenty years for the break between Ivalush II. and Nin-pala-zira, we are brought to (1130 + 120 + 20) B.C. 1270 for the accession of the first Tiglathi-Nin, who conquered Babylon, and is the first king of whom extensive conquests are recorded.[6] It is perhaps confirmatory rather than contradictory of this date to find that Sennacherib in another inscription reckons roughly 600 years—manifestly a round number—from his conquest of Babylon (B.C. 702) to a year in the reign of this monarch. For as the actual time, according to the above calculation, is considerably more than five centuries, it would naturally be called, by one who was using round numbers, six centuries.

It is evident, from the employment of an exact number (418), that Sennacherib believed himself to be in possession of a perfectly accurate chronology for a period exceeding four centuries from his own time. The discovery of the Assyrian Canon shows us the mode in which such an exact chronology would have been kept.

[4] Infra, pp. 313-317, and p. 329.

[5] Two such lines only are obtainable from the Assyrian lists. The first extends from Ivalush III. to Ivalush IV. inclusive; this contains six kings, whose united reigns amount to 129 years, furnishing thus an average of 21½ years. The other begins with Sargon and terminates with Saül-mugina (Saosduchinus), his great-grandson, containing four reigns, which cover a space of 74 years. The average length of a reign is here 18½ years. The *mean* average is therefore, as nearly as possible, 20 years. See below, pp. 304, 305.

The chief uncertainty which attaches to the numbers in this part of the list arises from the fact that the eight kings from Tiglathi-Nin downwards do not form a single direct line. The inscriptions fail to connect Nin-pala-zira with Iva-lush II., and there is thus a probable interval between the two reigns, the length of which can only be conjectured.

The dates assigned to the later kings from Iva-lush III. to Esarhaddon are derived from the Assyrian Canon taken in combination with the famous Canon of Ptolemy. The agreement between these documents, and between the latter and the Assyrian records generally, is exact;[7] and a confirmation is thus afforded to Ptolemy which is of no small importance. The dates from the accession of Iva-lush III. (B.C. 910) to the death of Esarhaddon (B.C. 667) would seem to have the same degree of accuracy and certainty which has been generally admitted to attach to the numbers of Ptolemy.

The reign of Asshur-bani-pal (Sardanapalus), the son and successor of Esarhaddon, which commenced B.C. 667,[8] is carried down to B.C. 647, conjecturally.

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[7] The Assyrian Canon assigns 17 years to Sargon and 24 to Sennacherib, or 41 to the two together. Sargon's first year, according to an Inscription of his own, synchronised with the first of Merodach-Baladan in Babylon. Now from this to the first of Esarhaddon, Sennacherib's son and successor, is exactly 41 years in the Canon of Ptolemy. Again, Sargon ascribes to Merodach-Baladan, just as Ptolemy does, a reign of 12 years. Sennacherib assigns 3 years to Belib or Belipni, as Ptolemy does to Belibus, and mentions that he was superseded in his office by Asshur-inadi-su—Ptolemy's Aparanadius or Assaranadius. Add to this that in no case has the date of a king's reign on any tablet been found to exceed the number of years which Ptolemy allows him.

[8] All the copies of the Canon are imperfect towards the close, and from none of them can we determine the length of the reign of Esarhaddon. As Ptolemy, however, gives him only 13 years *in Babylon*, and makes him then succeeded by Saosduchinus, whom Asshur-bani-pal appears to have made king of Babylon immediately after the death of his father Esarhaddon, it may now be regarded as most probable that the last-named prince reigned 13 years only *in Assyria*, dying B.C. 667.

Egyptian chronology confirms this date; for Tirhakah, who is found to

Twenty years is the average length of an Assyrian reign; and there is some ground for suspecting the identity of Saracus, the last Assyrian monarch, with Cinneladanus, the Babylonian king, whose first year, according to Ptolemy, was B.C. 647. There is no positive monumental evidence that Asshur-emid-ilin (Saracus) was Asshur-bani-pal's successor; but the testimony of Abydenus,[9] who here probably represents Berosus, has been regarded as proving the fact sufficiently. The same authority, taken in combination with the Canon of Ptolemy, fixes the termination of the Empire to B.C. 625.[10]

The framework of Assyrian chronology being thus approximately, and, to some extent, provisionally settled, we may proceed to arrange upon it the facts, so far as they have come down to us, of Assyrian history.

In the first place, then, if we ask ourselves where the Assyrians came from, and at what time they settled in the country which thenceforth bore their name, we seem to have an answer, at any rate, to the former of these two questions, in Scripture. "Out of that land"—the land of Shinar—"went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh."[1] The Assyrians, previously to

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have been for his last two or three years contemporary with Asshur-bani-pal, reigned from B.C. 690 to B.C. 664, according to the Apis *stelæ*. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 319, 320, 2nd edition.)

[9] *Fr. Hist. Gr.* vol. iv. p. 279.

[10] The Canon gives B.C. 625 for the accession of Nabopolassar in Babylon. Abydenus makes his accession follow on his successful revolt against his master, Saracus. Hence Niebuhr (*Lectures on Ancient History*, vol. i. p. 38, E. T.), and most writers of judgment, have placed the destruction of Nineveh in B.C. 625. The only difficulty in the way of the adoption of this date arises from the statement in 2 Kings xxiii. 29, that Neco, about B.C. 608, "went up against the king of Assyria." I should suppose that here Nabopolassar is meant, and that "Assyria" is used carelessly and by habit for "Babylon."

[1] Gen. x. 10 and 11. The true meaning of the Hebrew has been doubted, and our translators have placed in the margin as an alternative version, "He (*i. e.* Nimrod) went out into Assyria, and builded Nineveh, &c." But the real mean-

their settlement on the middle Tigris, had dwelt in the lower part of the great valley—the flat alluvial plain towards the mouths of the two streams. It was here, in this productive region, where nature does so much for man and so little needs to be supplied by himself, that they had grown from a family into a people, that they had learnt or developed a religion, and that they had acquired a knowledge of the most useful and necessary of the arts. It has been observed in a former chapter[2] that the whole character of the Assyrian architecture is such as to indicate that their style was formed in the low flat alluvium, where there were no natural elevations, and stone was not to be had. It has also been remarked that their writing is manifestly derived from the Chaldæan;[3] and that their religion is almost identical with that which prevailed in the lower country from a very early time.[4] The evidence of the monuments accords thus, in the most striking way, with the statement of the Bible, exhibiting to us the Assyrians as a people who had once dwelt to the south, in close contact with the Chaldæans, and had removed after a while to a more northern position.

With regard to the date of their removal, we can only say that it was certainly anterior to the close of the primitive Chaldæan kingdom, which seems to have terminated in the sixteenth century before our era. If we could be sure that the city called in later times Asshur bore that name when Shamas-Iva, the son of Ismi-Dagon, erected a temple there to Anu and

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ing of מִן הָאָרֶץ הַהִוא יָצָא אַשּׁוּר would seem to be almost certainly that given in the text. So the Septuagint renders Ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης ἐξῆλθεν Ἀσσούρ, and the Syriac and Vulgate versions agree. (Compare Rosenmüller, *Schol. in Genes.* p. 215.)

[2] See vol. i. ch. vi. p. 422.

[3] Ibid. ch. v. p. 336.

[4] Supra, ch. viii. p. 228.

Iva,[5] we might assign to the movement a still higher antiquity; for Shamas-Iva belongs to the nineteenth century, B.C.[6] As, however, we have no direct evidence that either the city or the country was known as Asshur until three centuries later, we must be content to lay it down that the Assyrians had moved to the north certainly as early as B.C. 1600, and that their removal may not improbably have taken place several centuries earlier.[7]

The motive of the removal is shrouded in complete obscurity. It may have been a forced colonisation, commanded and carried out by the Chaldæan kings, who may have originated the system of transplanting to distant regions subject tribes of doubtful fidelity;[8] or it may have been the voluntary self-expatriation of an increasing race, pressed for room and discontented with its condition. Again, it may have taken place by a single great movement, like that of the Tartar tribes, who transferred their allegiance from Russia to China in the reign of the Empress Catherine, and emigrated in a body from the banks of the Don to the eastern limits of Mongolia;[9] or it may have been a gradual and protracted change, covering a long term of years, like most of the migrations whereof we read in history. On the whole, there is perhaps some reason to believe that a spirit of enterprise about this time possessed the Semitic inhabitants of

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[5] Tiglath-Pileser calls Shamas-Iva and his father "high-priests of the god Asshur" (*Inscription*, p. 62), but says nothing of the name of the city at the time when the temple was erected.

[6] See vol. i. p. 207.

[7] It is important to bear in mind that on the mutilated Synchronistic tablet the names of Asshur-bel-nisis, &c., occur *half way down* the first column; which makes it probable that ten or a dozen names of Assyrian kings preceded them.

[8] On the prevalence of this system in the East, see the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 405; vol. ii. p. 467; and vol. iii. p. 149; 2nd edition.

[9] See the account of this emigration in M. Hommaire de Hell's *Travels in the Steppes of the Caspian Sea*, pp. 227-235.

lower Mesopotamia, who voluntarily proceeded northwards in the hope of bettering their condition. Terah conducted one body from Ur to Harran;[10] another removed itself from the shores of the Persian Gulf to those of the Mediterranean;[11] while probably a third, larger than either of these two, ascended the course of the Tigris, occupied Adiabêné with the adjacent regions, and, giving its own tribal name of Asshur to its chief city and territory, became known to its neighbours first as a distinct, and then as an independent and powerful, people.

The Assyrians for some time after their change of abode were probably governed by Babylonian rulers, who held their office under the Chaldæan Emperor. Bricks of a Babylonian character have been found at Kileh-Sherghat, the original Assyrian capital, which are thought to be of greater antiquity than any of the purely Assyrian remains, and which may have been stamped by these provincial governors.[12] Ere long, however, the yoke was thrown off, and the Assyrians established a separate monarchy of their own in the upper country, while the Chaldæan Empire was still flourishing under native monarchs in the regions nearer to the sea. The special evidence which we possess of the co-existence side by side of these two kingdoms is furnished by a broken tablet of a considerably later date,[13] which seems to have contained, when complete, a brief but continuous sketch of the synchronous history of Babylonia and

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[10] Gen. xi. 31.

[11] On the Phœnician emigration see Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, pp. 46-48; and compare the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. pp. 196-202, 2nd edition.

[12] See the Essay of Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 366, note [1].

[13] As the tablet is mutilated at both extremities its date is uncertain; but it cannot anyhow be earlier than the time of Shalmaneser II., to whose wars it alludes. Most probably it belongs to the time of Esarhaddon or Asshur-bani-pal.

Assyria, and of the various transactions in which the monarchs of the two countries had been engaged one with another, from the most ancient times. This tablet has preserved to us the names of three very early Assyrian kings, Asshur-bel-nisis, Buzur-Asshur, and Asshur-vatila, of whom the two former are recorded to have made treaties of peace with the contemporary kings of Babylon;[1] while the last-named intervened in the domestic affairs of the country, depriving an usurping monarch of the throne, and restoring it to the legitimate claimant, who was his own relation. Intermarriages, it appears, took place at this early date between the royal families of Assyria and Chaldæa; and Asshur-vatila, the third of the three kings, had united one of his daughters to Purna-puriyas, a Chaldæan monarch, who has received notice in the preceding volume.[2] On the death of Purna-puriyas, Kara-khar-das, the issue of this marriage, ascended the throne; but he had not reigned long before his subjects rebelled against his authority. A struggle ensued, in which he was slain, whereupon a certain Nazi-bugas, an usurper, became king, the line of Purna-puriyas being set aside. Asshur-vatila, upon this, interposed. Marching an army into Babylonia, he defeated and slew the usurper, after which he placed on the throne another son of Purna-puriyas —who was probably the Durri-galazu[3] already mentioned in the account of the kings of Chaldæa. It is from the synchronism furnished by the well-known name of Purna-puriyas that we obtain a date for the

[1] Asshur-bel-nisis is said to have made a treaty with a Babylonian king otherwise unknown, whose name is read doubtfully as *Kara-issib-das*. Buzur-Asshur, probably his successor, made a treaty with Purna-puriyas.

[2] See vol. i. pp. 211, 212.

[3] Or Kur-galazu, as the name is now read on the authority of a certain bilingual catalogue of royal Babylonian names.

three Assyrian monarchs. We have seen that Purna-puriyas reigned towards the close of the Chaldæan period, and have assigned him the space from B.C. 1625 to B.C. 1600.[4] The three Assyrian monarchs, therefore, who are thought to form a consecutive line, and who certainly reach down a little below the time of Purna-puriyas, may be assigned, without much chance of serious error, to the interval between B.C. 1650 and 1550.

What is most remarkable in the glimpse of history which this tablet opens to us is the power of Assyria, and the apparent terms of equality on which she stands with her neighbour. Not only does she treat as an equal with the great Southern Empire—not only is her royal house deemed worthy of furnishing wives to its princes—but when dynastic troubles arise there, she exercises a predominant influence over the fortunes of the contending parties, and secures victory to the side whose cause she espouses. Jealous as all nations are of foreign interposition in their affairs, we may be sure that Babylonia would not have succumbed on this occasion to Assyria's influence, had not her weight been such that, added to one side in a civil struggle, it produced a preponderance which defied resistance.

After this one short lift,[5] the curtain again drops over the history of Assyria for a space of about two centuries. It is possible, indeed, that a king, whose name occurs on an interesting genealogical tablet, falls into the interval; but, even if this is admitted

[4] See vol. i. l. s. c.

[5] Asshur-vatila is also mentioned on a tablet of Tiglath-Pileser I. as having repaired a temple built by Shamas-Iva, which was again repaired at a later date by Shalmaneser I. This tablet, which was discovered after these sheets were in the press, confirms very satisfactorily the general chronological arrangement (supra, p. 291).

—and it is very uncertain—as we possess but a single notice of the monarch in question, and as this notice does little more than tell us his name, the darkness can hardly be said to be broken by the feeble ray thus shed upon it. The only fact which is recorded of this monarch, who is called Bel-sumili-kapi, is that he "established the sovereignty" of the later line of monarchs, "of whom, *from that time*, Asshur (it is said) had proclaimed the glory."[6] It would seem from this, that Bel-sumili-kapi was in some sense the founder of the later kingdom; but whether he was the leader who originally established the independence, in which case his date would be at latest B.C. 1670;[7] or whether he was merely the founder of a dynasty, distinct from that to which Asshur-bel-nisis, Buzur-Asshur, and Asshur-vatila belonged, and later in date, cannot be positively determined. As it has been thought that, upon the whole, the latter is the more probable supposition, Bel-sumili-kapi has been assigned to the vacant space between Asshur-vatila and the first series of Kileh-Sherghat monarchs.

Hitherto the history of Assyria, so far as it can be regarded as recovered, has been made known to us not from contemporary documents, but from records of a comparatively late date, compilations under the Assyrian kings of the Lower Empire from earlier monuments, which have perished. We now approach the time of contemporary historical records, which are (as might have been expected) at first of a most meagre character, but increase in copiousness and

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[6] See Sir H. Rawlinson's letter in the *Athenæum* for Aug. 22, 1863 (No. 1869, p. 243, note [2]).

[7] As we have assigned the interval between B.C. 1650 and 1550 to the Asshur-bel-nisis group, Bel-sumili-kapi, if anterior to it, must have begun to reign at least as early as B.C. 1670.

number as we descend the stream of time, until towards the close of the monarchy they again become scanty and infrequent. The first kings who have left actual records belong to a group which consists of a consecutive series of six, who form a line of direct descent, and who probably covered the space between B.C. 1350 and B.C. 1230. Four of these monarchs, Bel-lush (Belochus?), Pudil, Ivalush I., and Shalmaneser I., raised or repaired buildings at Asshur (Kileh-Sherghat), then the Assyrian capital, and have left on the bricks of the place legends which show that they bore the title only given to independent kings, and that they belonged to a single family. The fifth monarch of the series (Tiglathi-Nin) is mentioned in an important inscription of Sennacherib's, which records the legend upon his signet-seal; and his name likewise occurs, in conjunction with that of his father, Shalmaneser I., and his son and successor, Ivalush II., in the genealogical tablet, which contains the name of Bel-sumili-kapi.

The legends on the bricks of Bel-lush, Pudil, and Ivalush I., containing merely the names and titles of the monarchs, and being the only documents in which they are mentioned, it is impossible to give any account of their reigns, or to say more of the condition of Assyria in their time than that it was probably still a mere kingdom, sufficiently strong to maintain its independence, but unable as yet to extend its sway over its neighbours. Its capital, Asshur, was not very favourably situated, being on the right bank of the Tigris, which is a far less fertile region than the left, and not being naturally a place of any great strength. The territory, it is probable, did not extend very far to the north: at any rate, no need was as yet felt for a second city higher up the Tigris

valley, much less for a transfer of the seat of government in that direction. Calah was certainly, and Nineveh, probably, not yet built;[1] but still the kingdom had obtained a name among the nations; the term Assyria was applied geographically to the whole valley of the middle Tigris;[2] and a prophetic eye could see in the hitherto quiescent power the nation fated to send expeditions into Palestine and to bear off its inhabitants into captivity.[3]

Shalmaneser I. (B.C. 1290) is chiefly known in Assyrian history as the founder of Calah (Nimrud),[4] the second, apparently, of those great cities which the Assyrian monarchs delighted to build and embellish. This foundation would of itself be sufficient to imply the growth of Assyria in his time towards the north, and would also mark its full establishment as the dominant power on the left as well as the right bank of the Tigris. Calah was very advantageously situated in a region of great fertility and of much natural strength, being protected on one side by the Tigris, and on the other by the Shor-Derreh torrent, while the Greater Zab further defended it at the distance of a few miles on the south and south-east, and the Khazr or Ghazr-Su on the north-east.[5] Its settlement must have secured to the Assyrians the undisturbed possession of the fruitful and important district between the Tigris and the mountains, the Aturia or Assyria Proper of later times,[6] which ultimately became the great metro-

[1] It may be objected that these cities are mentioned as already built in the time of Moses (Gen. x. 11), who probably lived in the 15th century B.C. To this it may be replied, in the first place, that the date of Moses is very uncertain, and, secondly, that the eleventh and twelfth verses of the tenth chapter of Genesis are very possibly an addition made by Ezra on the return from the Captivity.

[2] See Gen. ii. 14, and compare above, vol. i. p. 8. [3] Numbers, xxiv. 22.

[4] Shalmaneser is also called the founder (or enlarger) of the Temple of Kharris-matira, which was probably at Calah.

[5] See the Chart, supra, p. 195.

[6] Strabo, xvi. 1, § 1; Arrian. *Exp. Alex.* iii. 7.

politan region, in which almost all the chief towns were situated.

It is quite in accordance with this erection of a sort of second capital, further to the north than the old one, to find, as we do, by the inscriptions of Asshur-idanni-pal, that Shalmaneser undertook expeditions against the tribes on the upper Tigris, and even founded cities in those parts, which he colonized with settlers brought from a distance. We do not know what the exact bounds of Assyria towards the north were before his time, but there can be no doubt that he advanced them; and he is thus entitled to the distinction of being the first known Assyrian conqueror.

With Tiglathi-Nin, the son and successor of Shalmaneser I., the spirit of conquest displayed itself in a more signal and striking manner. The probable date of this monarch has already been shown to synchronise closely with the time assigned by Berosus to the commencement of his great Assyrian dynasty, and by Herodotus to the beginning of his "Empire."[7] Now Tiglathi-Nin appears in the Inscriptions as the prince who first aspired to transfer to Assyria the supremacy hitherto exercised, or at any rate claimed by Babylon. He made war upon the Southern kingdom, and, with such success, that he felt himself entitled to claim its conquest, and to inscribe upon his signet-seal the proud title of "Conqueror of Babylonia."[8] This signet-seal, left by him at Babylon, and recovered five or six hundred years later by Sennacherib, would seem to show that he reigned for some

[7] Supra, pp. 292, 293.

[8] The full inscription was as follows, according to Sennacherib:—"Tiglathi-Nin, king of Assyria, son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, and conqueror of *Kar-Dunis* (or Babylonia). Whoever injures my device (?) or name, may Asshur and Iva destroy his name and ountry."

time in person at the southern capital,[9] where it is probable that he afterwards established an Assyrian dynasty—a branch perhaps of his own family. This is probably the exact event of which Berosus spoke as occurring 526 years before Phul or Pul, and which Herodotus regarded as marking the commencement of the Assyrian "Empire." We must not, however, suppose that Babylonia was from this time really subject continuously to the Court of Nineveh. The subjection may have been maintained for a little more than a century; but about that time we find evidence that the yoke of Assyria had been shaken off, and that the Babylonian monarchs, who have Semitic names and are probably Assyrians by descent, had become hostile to the Ninevite kings, and were engaged in frequent wars with them.[10] No real permanent subjection of the Lower country to the Upper was effected till the time of Sargon; and even under the Sargonid dynasty revolts were frequent; nor were the Babylonians reconciled to the Assyrian sway till Esar-haddon united the two crowns in his own person, and reigned alternately at the two capitals. Still, it is probable that, from the time of Tiglathi-Nin, the Upper country was recognised as the superior of the two: it had shown its might by a conquest and the imposition of a dynasty—proofs of power which were far from counterbalanced by a few retaliatory raids adventured upon under favourable circumstances by the Babylonian princes. Its influence was therefore felt, even while its yoke was refused; and the Semitising of the Chaldæans, commenced under the Arabs,

[9] Hence, in the genealogical tablet containing the name of Bel-sumili-kapi, he is called "king of Sumir and Akkad" (*i. e.* of Babylonia), a title not given to any of the other kings.

[10] Infra, pp. 309, 310, 329, 330, &c.

continued during the whole time of Assyrian preponderance; no effectual Turanian reaction ever set in; the Babylonian rulers, whether submissive to Assyria or engaged in hostilities against her, have equally Semitic names; and it does not appear that any effort was at any time made to recover to the Turanian element of the population its early supremacy.

Tiglathi-Nin, of whom nothing further is known,[11] was succeeded upon the throne by his son, Iva-lush II., whose accession probably fell about B.C. 1250. We possess no details of the history of Assyria under this monarch; but, from the expressions used in regard to him upon the genealogical tablet, where alone his name occurs, we may gather that he inherited the warlike spirit of his father, and succeeded in further extending the Assyrian dominion.[12] We have no information, however, as to the quarter in which his conquests took place.

The line of direct descent, which has been traced in uninterrupted succession through six monarchs, beginning with Bel-lush, here terminates; and an interval occurs which can only be roughly estimated as probably not exceeding twenty or thirty years. Another consecutive series of six kings follows, known to us chiefly through the famous Tiglath-Pileser cylinder (which gives the succession of the first five on the list), but completed from the combined

[11] It is possible that the passage in the annals of Asshur-idanni-pal, which speaks of a tablet having been set up by a former king, named Tiglathi-Nin, near the sources of the Tsupnat, or Eastern Tigris, (infra, p. 336), may have reference to this king. If so, we must regard him as having warred, like his father (supra, p. 304) in the mountain region of Niphates.

[12] Iva-lush II. is mentioned as the son of Tiglathi-Nin on the Bel-sumili-kapi tablet. He is called "the proud chief, whose wishes were accomplished, and whose territory was extended, by Asshur, Shamas, Iva, and Merodach."

evidence of two other documents.[1] These monarchs, it is probable, reigned from about B.C. 1210 to B.C. 1090.

Nin-pala-zira, the first of the series, would seem to have been the founder of a new dynasty. He is called "the king who organized the country of Assyria,"[2] or (according to another translation) "the king of the commencement."[3] As he was certainly neither the founder of the independent kingdom nor the establisher of the Empire, it would seem necessary to understand the passage in question as intended to mark his origination of the dynasty and of the state of things existing in the time of his fourth descendant, Tiglath-Pileser I., who makes use of the expression.

Of Asshur-dah-il, the second king of the series, nothing is known, except that he had a long and prosperous reign,[4] and that he took down the temple which Shamas-Iva, the son of Ismi-Dagon had erected to the gods Asshur and Iva at Asshur, the Assyrian capital, because it was in a ruinous condition and required to be destroyed or rebuilt. Asshur-dah-il seems to have shrunk from the task of restoring so great a work, and therefore demolished the structure, which was not rebuilt for the space of sixty years

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[1] These documents are, 1. the Babylonian and Assyrian synchronistic tablet, which gives the three names of Asshur-ris-ilim, Tiglath-Pileser, and Asshur-bel-kala, in apparent succession, and, 2. an inscription on a mutilated statue of the goddess Ishtar, now in the British Museum, which contains the same three royal names, and determinately proves the direct genealogical succession of the three monarchs.

[2] This is Sir H. Rawlinson's translation. (*Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.* p. 62.)

[3] So M. Oppert translates. (Ibid. p. 63.)

[4] We may gather, however, indirectly from the Tiglath-Pileser Inscription that at least one considerable calamity took place in his reign. The Muskai (Moschi) are said to have occupied the countries of Alzi and Purukhuz, and stopped their payment of tribute to Assyria *fifty years* before the commencement of Tiglath-Pileser's reign (ibid. p. 22). This event *must certainly* have fallen into the time, either of Asshur-dah-il, or of his son Mutaggil-Nebo. Most probably it belonged to the reign of the former.

from its demolition.[5] He was succeeded upon the throne by his son, Mutaggil-Nebo.

Mutaggil-Nebo reigned probably from about B.C. 1170 to B.C. 1150. We are informed that "Asshur, the great Lord, aided him according to the wishes of his heart, and established him in strength in the government of Assyria."[6] Perhaps these expressions allude to internal troubles at the commencement of his reign, over which he was so fortunate as to triumph. We have no further particulars of this monarch.

Asshur-ris-ilim, the fourth king of the series, the son and successor of Mutaggil-Nebo, whose reign may be placed between B.C. 1150 and B.C. 1130, is a monarch of greater pretensions than most of his predecessors. In his son's Inscription he is called "the powerful king, the subduer of rebellious countries, he who has reduced all the accursed."[7] These expressions are so broad, that we must conclude from them, not merely that Asshur-ris-ilim, unlike the previous kings of the line, engaged in foreign wars, but that his expeditions had a great success, and paved the way for the extensive conquests of his son and successor, Tiglath-Pileser. Probably he turned his arms in various directions, like that monarch. Certainly he carried them southwards into Babylonia, where, as we learn from the synchronistic tablet of Babylonian and Assyrian history, he was engaged for some time in a war with a Nebuchadnezzar (*Nabu-kudur-uzur*), the first known king of that name. It has been conjectured that he likewise carried them into Southern Syria and Palestine;[8] and that, in fact, he is the monarch designated in

[5] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser*, p. 62.
[6] Ibid. p. 60.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Sir H. Rawlinson in the *Athenæum* for Aug. 22, 1863 (No. 1869, p. 244, note [7]).

the Book of Judges by the name of Chushan-ris-athaim,[9] who is called "the king of Mesopotamia (Aram-Naharaim)," and is said to have exercised dominion over the Israelites for eight years. The present Hebrew reading, for which no scholar has suggested a satisfactory etymology,[10] is supposed to be a corruption; and it is remarked that no very great correction of the Hebrew text would be necessary in order to accommodate it to the name of this Assyrian king.[11] The chief difficulty would be one of chronology. The commonly accepted date for Chushan-ris-athaim is B.C. 1400, or thereabouts, whereas the Assyrian date for Asshur-ris-ilim is B.C. 1150, or two centuries and a half after this time. Still, as chronologists continue to regard the length of the interval between the Exodus and Solomon's Dedication as most uncertain,[12] and as some place the Exodus as low as B.C. 1300,[13] which would bring Chushan-ris-athaim's conquests to about B.C. 1200, the chronological difficulty is perhaps not insuperable.

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[9] Judges iv. 4.

[10] Rosenmüller explains Chushan-rish-athaim, or rather Cushan-rish-athaim, as "Cushan duplicis improbitatis" (Barrett's *Synopsis*, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 172), regarding Cushan as a proper name (cf. Hab. iii. 7), and *rishathaim* as the dual of רִשְׁעָה, "improbitas." He considers this to have been the view of the Chaldee, Syrian, and Arab translators, who render the word by expressions equivalent to "Cushan the wicked." But no analogous use of the dual as an epithet has been produced in support of this explanation.

Simon's explanation, quoted by Rosenmüller, is still more far-fetched. He thinks that Cushan means "fear," hence "the object of fear," "a terrible one," "a prince." *Rishathaim* he regards as a proper name; and thus Cushan-rishathaim, according to him, signifies "the prince of the city Rishathaim." But this city is utterly unknown to us; and *cushan* has never, that we know of, been used as a generic title for a prince.

[11] Cushan-rish-athaim would become Asshur-ris-elim by changing three letters (כ into א, ן into ר, and ת into ל) and transposing the first שׁ and ו.

[12] See Lepsius, *Chronologie der Ægypter*, pp. 377 et seqq.; Palmer, *Egyptian Chronicles*, pp. 756-760; Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i. pp. 303-314; Nash, *Pharaoh of the Exodus*, pp. 268-272, &c.

[13] Bunsen places the Exodus in B.C. 1320; Lepsius in 1314. Some have brought it even lower; as Miss Corbaux, who gives B.C. 1291.

A few details have come down to us with respect to the Babylonian war of Asshur-ris-ilim. It appears that Nebuchadnezzar was the assailant. He began the war by a march up the Diyaleh and an advance on Assyria along the outlying Zagros hills, the route afterwards taken by the great Persian road described by Herodotus. Asshur-ris-ilim went out to meet him in person, engaged him in the mountain region, and repulsed his attack. Upon this the Babylonian monarch retired, and after an interval, the duration of which is unknown, advanced a second time against Assyria, but took now the direct line across the plain. Asshur-ris-ilim on this occasion was content to employ a general against the invader. He "sent" his chariots and his soldiers towards his southern border, and was again successful, gaining a second victory over his antagonist, who fled away leaving in his hands forty chariots and a banner.

Tiglath-Pileser I., who succeeded Asshur-ris-ilim about B.C. 1130, is the first Assyrian monarch of whose history we possess copious details which can be set forth at some length. This is owing to the preservation and recovery of a lengthy document belonging to his reign—in which are recorded the events of his first five years.[1] As this document

[1] This document exists on two duplicate cylinders in the British Museum, which are both nearly complete. The Museum also contains fragments of several other cylinders which bore the same inscription.

The translation from which the following quotations are made was executed in the year 1857, under peculiar circumstances. Four gentlemen, Sir H. Rawlinson, Mr. Fox Talbot, Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert, were furnished simultaneously with a lithographed copy of the inscription, which was then unpublished; and these gentlemen working independently, produced translations, more or less complete, of the document. The translations were published in parallel columns by Mr. Parker of the Strand, under the title of "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., King of Assyria, B.C. 1150. London, J. W. Parker, 1857."

A perusal of this work would probably remove a great deal of the incredulity which exists on the subject of Assyrian decipherment.

is the chief evidence we possess of the condition of Assyria, the character and tone of thought of the kings, and indeed of the general state of the Eastern world, at the period in question—which synchronises certainly with some portion of the dominion of the Judges over Israel, and probably with the early conquests of the Dorians in Greece[2]—it is thought advisable to give in this place such an account of it, and such a number of extracts, as shall enable the reader to form his own judgment on these several points.

The document opens with an enumeration and glorification of the "great gods," who "rule over heaven and earth," and are "the guardians of the kingdom of Tiglath-Pileser." These are "Asshur, the great Lord, ruling supreme over the gods; Bel, the lord, father of the gods, lord of the world; Sin, the leader (?), the lord of empire (?); Shamas, the establisher of heaven and earth; Iva, he who causes the tempest to rage over hostile lands; Nin, the champion who subdues evil spirits and enemies; and Ishtar, the source of the gods, the queen of victory, she who arranges battles." These deities, who (it is declared) have placed Tiglath-Pileser upon the throne, have "made him firm, have confided to him the supreme crown, have appointed him in might to the sovereignty of the people of Bel, and have granted him pre-eminence, exaltation, and warlike power," are invoked to make the "duration of his empire continue for ever to his royal posterity, lasting as the great temple of Kharris-Matira."[3]

In the next section the king glorifies himself, enumerating his royal titles as follows:—"Tiglath-

[2] The date of Eratosthenes for the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese was B.C. 1104. Thucydides, apparently, would have placed it seventy or eighty years earlier. (Thuc. v. 112.)

[3] *Inscription*, &c., pp. 18-20.

Pileser, the powerful king, king of the people of various tongues; king of the four regions; king of all kings; lord of lords; the supreme (?); monarch of monarchs; the illustrious chief, who, under the auspices of the Sun-god, being armed with the sceptre and girt with the girdle of power over mankind, rules over all the people of Bel; the mighty prince whose praise is blazoned forth among the kings; the exalted sovereign, whose servants Asshur has appointed to the government of the four regions, and whose name he has made celebrated to posterity; the conqueror of many plains and mountains of the Upper and Lower country; the victorious hero, the terror of whose name has overwhelmed all regions; the bright constellation who, as he wished, has warred against foreign countries, and under the auspices of Bel—there being no equal to him—has subdued the enemies of Asshur."[4]

The royal historian, after this introduction, proceeds to narrate his actions—first in general terms declaring that he has subdued all the lands and the peoples round about, and then proceeding to particularise the various campaigns which he had conducted during the first five years of his reign. The earliest of these was against the Muskai, or Moschians, who are probably identical with the Meshech of Holy Scripture[5]—a people governed (it is said) by five kings, and inhabiting the countries of Alzi and Purukhuz, parts (apparently) of Taurus or Niphates.[6]

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[4] *Inscription*, pp. 20-22.

[5] Ps. cxx. 5; Ezek. xxvii. 13; xxxii. 26; xxxviii. 2; xxxix. 1, &c. They are constantly coupled in the Inscriptions with the *Tuplai*, just as Meshech is coupled with Tubal in Scripture, and the Moschi with the Tibareni in Herodotus (iii. 94; vii. 78).

[6] From the Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser we can only say that these regions formed a portion of the mountain country in the vicinity of the Upper Tigris. In later times the

These Moschians are said to have neglected for fifty years to pay the tribute due from them to the Assyrians, from which it would appear that they had revolted during the reign of Asshur-dah-il, having previously been subject to Assyria.[7] At this time, with a force amounting to 20,000 men, they had invaded the neighbouring district of Qummukh (Commagêné),[8] an Assyrian dependency, and had made themselves masters of it. Tiglath-Pileser attacked them in this newly-conquered country, and completely defeated their army. He then reduced Commagêné, despite the assistance which the inhabitants received from some of their neighbours. He burnt the cities, plundered the temples, ravaged the open country, and carried off, either in the shape of plunder or of tribute, vast quantities of cattle and treasure.[9]

The character of the warfare is indicated by such a passage as the following :—

"The country of Kasiyara, a difficult region, I passed through. With their 20,000 men and their five kings, in the country of Qummukh I engaged. I defeated them. The ranks of their warriors in fighting the battle were beaten down as if by the tempest. Their carcasses covered the valleys and the tops of the mountains. I cut off their heads. Of

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main seat of the Moschian power was the Taurus range immediately to the west of the Euphrates. Here was their great city, Mazaca (Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* i. 6 ; Mos. Chor. *Hist. Armen.* i. 13), the Cæsaræa Mazaca of the Roman Empire. Hence they seem to have been driven northwards by the Cappadocians, and in the time of Herodotus they occupy a small tract upon the Euxine. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. pp. 179-181.)

[7] Supra, p. 307, note [4].

[8] This is one of the very few geographic names in the early Assyrian records which seems to have a classical equivalent. It must not, however, be supposed that the locality of the tribe was the same in Tiglath-Pileser's time as in the days of Strabo and Pliny. Tiglath-Pileser's Qummukh or Commukha appear to occupy the mountain region extending from the Euphrates at Sumeïsat to beyond the Tigris at Diarbekr.

[9] *Inscription*, &c., pp. 22-30.

the battlements of their cities I made heaps, like mounds of earth (?). Their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables I plundered to a countless amount. Six thousand of their common soldiers, who fled before my servants and accepted my yoke, I took and gave over to the men of my own territory as slaves." [1]

The second campaign was partly in the same region and with the same people. The Moschians, who were still loth to pay tribute, were again attacked and reduced.[2] Commagêné was completely over-run, and the territory was attached to the Assyrian empire.[3] The neighbouring tribes were assailed in their fastnesses, their cities burnt, and their territories ravaged.[4] At the same time war was made upon several other peoples or nations. Among these the most remarkable are the Khatti (Hittites), two of whose tribes, the Kaskians and Urumians,[5] had committed an aggression on the Assyrian territory: for this they were chastised by an invasion which they did not venture to resist, by the plundering of their valuables, and the carrying off of 120 of their chariots.[6] In another direction the Lower Zab was crossed and the Assyrian arms were carried into the mountain region of Zagros, where certain strongholds were reduced and a good deal of treasure taken.[7]

The third campaign was against the numerous tribes of the Naïri,[8] who seem to have dwelt at this

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[1] *Inscription*, p. 24.
[2] Ibid. pp. 30-32.
[3] Ibid. pp. 32-34.
[4] Ibid. pp. 34-36.
[5] These Urumians (*Hurumaya*) were perhaps of the same race with a tribe of the same name, who dwelt near and probably gave name to Lake Urumiyeh. The name of the Kaskians recalls that of a primitive Italic people, the Casci. (See Niebuhr, *Roman History*, vol. i. p. 78, E. T.)
[6] The chariots of the Hittites are more than once mentioned in Scripture. (See 1 K. x. 29 and 2 K. vii. 6.)
[7] *Inscription*, p. 38.
[8] The fact that the country occupied by the *Naïri* is, in part, that which the Jews knew as Aram-*Naharaim*, would seem to be a mere

time partly to the east of the Euphrates, but partly also in the mountain country west of the stream from Sumeïsat to the Gulf of Iskenderun.[9] These tribes, it is said, had never previously made their submission to the Assyrians.[10] They were governed by a number of petty chiefs or "kings," of whom no fewer than twenty-three are particularised. The tribes east of the Euphrates seem to have been reduced with little resistance, while those who dwelt west of the river, on the contrary, collected their troops together, gave battle to the invaders, and made a prolonged and desperate defence. All, however, was in vain. The Assyrian monarch gained a great victory, taking 120 chariots, and then pursuing the vanquished Naïri and their allies as far as "the Upper Sea," i.e., the Mediterranean. The usual ravage and destruction followed, with the peculiarity that the lives of the "kings" were spared, and that the country was put to a moderate tribute, viz., 1200 horses and 2000 head of cattle.[11]

In the fourth campaign the Aramæans or Syrians were attacked by the ambitious monarch. They occupied at this time the valley of the Euphrates, from the borders of the Tsukhi, or Shuhites,[12] (who held the river from about Anah to Hit,) as high up as Carchemish, the frontier town and chief stronghold of the Khatti or Hittites. Carchemish was not, as has

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accidental coincidence. *Naïri* is a purely ethnic title; *Naharaim* is from נָהָר, "a river," and Aram-Naharaim is "Syria of the two rivers," *i. e.* Mesopotamia. (See above, vol. i. p. 2.) The *Naharayn* of the Egyptian monuments may, however, be "the Naïri country."

[9] This is the district which afterwards became Commagêné. It is a labyrinth of mountains, twisted spurs from Amanus.

[10] *Inscription*, p. 42.

[11] Ibid. p. 44.

[12] This identification is made partly on etymological and partly on geographical grounds. (See the author's article on SHUHITE in Dr. Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. iii. p. 1298.)

commonly been supposed, Circesium, at the junction of the Khabour with the Euphrates,[13] but was considerably higher up the stream, certainly near to, perhaps on the very site of, the later city of Mabog or Hierapolis.[14] Thus the Aramæans had a territory of no great width, but 250 miles long between its north-western and its south-eastern extremities. Tiglath-Pileser smote this region, as he tells us, "at one blow."[15] First attacking and plundering the eastern or left bank of the river, he then crossed the stream in boats covered with skins, took and burned six cities on the right bank, and returned in safety with an immense plunder.

The fifth and last campaign was against the country of Musr or Muzr, by which some Orientalists have understood Lower Egypt.[16] This, however, appears to be a mistake. The Assyrian Inscriptions designate two countries by the name of Musr or Muzr, one of them being Egypt, and the other a portion of Upper Kurdistan. The expedition of Tiglath-Pileser I. was against the north-eastern Musr, a highly mountainous country, consisting (apparently) of the outlying ranges of Zagros between the Greater Zab and the Eastern Khabour. Notwithstanding its natural strength and the resistance of the inhabitants, this country was completely over-run in an incredibly short space. The armies which defended it were defeated, the cities burnt, the strongholds taken. Arin, the capital, submitted, and was spared, after which a set tribute was imposed on the entire region, the

[13] Circesium is identified by Mr. Fox Talbot with the Assyrian *Sirki*, which was apparently in this position. (*Assyrian Texts*, p. 31.)

[14] See *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 278. In the Syriac version of the Old Testament Carchemish is translated, or rather replaced, by Mabog.

[15] *Inscription*, p. 46.

[16] So Mr. Fox Talbot (*Inscription*, p. 48).

amount of which is not mentioned. The Assyrian arms were then turned against a neighbouring district, the country of the Comani. The Comani, though Assyrian subjects, had lent assistance to the people of Musr, and it was to punish this insolence that Tiglath-Pileser resolved to invade their territory. Having defeated their main army, consisting of 20,000 men, he proceeded to the attack of the various castles and towns, some of which were stormed, while others surrendered at discretion. In both cases alike the fortifications were broken down and destroyed, the cities which surrendered being spared, while those taken by storm were burnt with fire. Ere long the whole of the "far-spreading country of the Comani" was reduced to subjection, and a tribute was imposed exceeding that which had previously been required from the people.[1]

After this account of the fifth campaign, the whole result of the wars is thus briefly summed up:—"There fell into my hands altogether, between the commencement of my reign and my fifth year, forty-two countries with their kings, from the banks of the river Zab to the banks of the river Euphrates, the country of the Khatti, and the upper ocean of the setting sun. I brought them under one government; I took hostages from them; and I imposed on them tribute and offerings."[2]

From describing his military achievements, the monarch turns to an account of his exploits in the chase. In the country of the Hittites he boasts that he had slain "four wild bulls, strong and fierce," with his arrows; while in the neighbourhood of

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[1] *Inscription*, &c., pp. 48-52.

[2] Ibid. pp. 52-54.

Harran, on the banks of the river Khabour, he had killed ten large wild buffaloes (?), and taken four alive.[3] These captured animals he had carried with him on his return to Asshur, his capital city, together with the horns and skins of the slain beasts. The lions which he had destroyed in his various journeys he estimates at 920. All these successes he ascribes to the powerful protection of Nin and Nergal.[4]

The royal historiographer proceeds, after this, to give an account of his domestic administration, of the buildings which he had erected, and the various improvements which he had introduced. Among the former he mentions temples to Ishtar, Martu, Bel, Il or Ra, and the presiding deities of the city of Asshur, palaces for his own use, and castles for the protection of his territory. Among the latter he enumerates the construction of works of irrigation, the introduction into Assyria of foreign cattle and of numerous beasts of chase, the naturalization of foreign vegetable products, the multiplication of chariots, the extension of the territory, and the augmentation of the population of the country.[5]

A more particular account is then given of the restoration by the monarch of two very ancient and venerable temples in the great city of Asshur. This account is preceded by a formal statement of the particulars of the monarch's descent from Nin-pala-zira,[6]

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[3] See above, p. 132, note [2].

[4] *Inscription*, pp. 54-56.

[5] Ibid. pp. 56-60.

[6] The most important points of the statement have been quoted in the earlier portion of this chapter, but as the reader may wish to see the entire passage as it stands in the original document, it is here appended:—

"Tiglath-Pileser, the illustrious prince, whom Asshur and Nin have exalted to the utmost wishes of his heart; who has pursued after the enemies of Asshur, and has subjugated all the earth—

"The son of Asshur-ris-ilim, the powerful king, the subduer of rebellious countries, he who has reduced all the accursed (?)—

"The grandson of Mutaggil-Nebo,

"the king of the commencement," or, in other words, the founder of the dynasty—which breaks the thread of the narrative somewhat strangely and awkwardly. Perhaps the occasion of its introduction was, in the mind of the writer, the necessary mention, in connection with one of the two temples, of Asshur-dah-il, the great-grandfather of the monarch. It appears that in the reign of Asshur-dah-il, this temple, which, having stood for 641 years, was in a very ruinous condition, had been taken down, while no fresh building had been raised in its room. The site remained vacant for sixty years, till Tiglath-Pileser, having lately ascended the throne, determined to erect on the spot a new temple to the old gods, who were Anu and Iva, probably the tutelary deities of the city. His own account of the circumstances of the building and dedication is as follows :—

"In the beginning of my reign, Anu and Iva, the great gods, my lords, guardians of my steps, gave me a command to repair this their shrine. So I made bricks; I levelled the earth ; I took its dimensions (?) ; I laid down its foundations upon a mass of strong rock. This place, throughout its whole extent, I paved with bricks in set order (?) ; fifty feet deep I prepared the ground ; and upon this substructure I laid the lower foundations of the temple of Anu and Iva. From its foundations to its roof I built it up

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whom Asshur, the Great Lord, aided according to the wishes of his heart, and established in strength in the government of Assyria—

"The glorious offspring of Asshur-dah-il, who held the sceptre of dominion, and ruled over the people of Bel ; who in all the works of his hands and the deeds of his life placed his reliance on the great gods, and thus obtained a long and prosperous life—

"The beloved child of Nin-palazira, the king who organised the country of Assyria, who purged his territories of the wicked, and established the troops of Assyria in authority." (*Inscription*, pp. 60-62.)

better than it was before. I also built two lofty towers (?) in honour of their noble godships, and the holy place, a spacious hall, I consecrated for the convenience of their worshippers, and to accommodate their votaries, who were numerous as the stars of heaven. I repaired, and built, and completed my work. Outside the temple I fashioned everything with the same care as inside. The mound of earth on which it was built I enlarged like the firmament of the rising stars (?), and I beautified the entire building. Its towers I raised up to heaven, and its roofs I built entirely of brick. An inviolable shrine (?) for their noble godships I laid down near at hand. Anu and Iva, the great gods, I glorified inside the shrine. I set them up in their honoured purity, and the hearts of their noble godships I delighted." [7]

The other restoration mentioned is that of a temple to Iva only, which, like that to Anu and Iva conjointly, had been originally built by Shamas-Iva, the son of Ismi-Dagon. This building had likewise fallen into decay, but had not been taken down like the other. Tiglath-Pileser states that he "levelled its site," and then rebuilt it "from its foundations to its roofs," enlarging it beyond its former limits, and adorning it. Inside of it he "sacrificed precious victims to his lord, Iva." He also deposited in the temple a number of rare stones or marbles, which he had obtained in the country of the Naïri in the course of his expeditions.[8]

The inscription then terminates with the following long invocation :—

"Since a holy place, a noble hall, I have thus consecrated for the use of the Great Gods, my lords

[7] *Inscription*, pp. 64-66. [8] Ibid. p. 66.

Anu and Iva, and have laid down an adytum for their special worship, and have finished it successfully, and have delighted the hearts of their noble godships, may Anu and Iva preserve me in power! May they support the men of my government! May they establish the authority of my officers! May they bring the rain, the joy of the year, on the cultivated land and the desert, during my time! In war and in battle may they preserve me victorious! Many foreign countries, turbulent nations, and hostile kings I have reduced under my yoke: to my children and my descendants, may they keep them in firm allegiance! I will lead my steps" (or, "may they establish my feet"), "firm as the mountains, to the last days, before Asshur and their noble godships!

"The list of my victories and the catalogue of my triumphs over foreigners hostile to Asshur, which Anu and Iva have granted to my arms, I have inscribed on my tablets and cylinders, and I have placed, [to remain] to the last days, in the temple of my lords, Anu and Iva. And I have made clean (?) the tablets of Shamas-Iva, my ancestor; I have made sacrifices, and sacrificed victims before them, and have set them up in their places. In after times, and in the latter days . . . . , if the temple of the Great Gods, my lords Anu and Iva, and these shrines should become old and fall into decay, may the Prince who comes after me repair the ruins! May he raise altars and sacrifice victims before my tablets and cylinders, and may he set them up again in their places, and may he inscribe his name on them together with my name! As Anu and Iva, the Great Gods, have ordained, may he worship honestly with a good heart and full trust!

"Whoever shall abrade or injure my tablets and cylinders, or shall moisten them with water, or scorch them with fire, or expose them to the air, or in the holy place of God shall assign them a place where they cannot be seen or understood, or shall erase the writing and inscribe his own name, or shall divide the sculptures (?) and break them off from my tablets, may Anu and Iva, the Great Gods, my lords, consign his name to perdition! May they curse him with an irrevocable curse! May they cause his sovereignty to perish! May they pluck out the stability of the throne of his empire! Let not his offspring survive him in the kingdom! Let his servants be broken! Let his troops be defeated! Let him fly vanquished before his enemies! May Iva in his fury tear up the produce of his land! May a scarcity of food and of the necessaries of life afflict his country! For one day may he not be called happy! May his name and his race perish!"[1]

The document is then dated—"In the month Kuzalla (Chisleu), in the 29th day, on the year presided over by Ina-iliya-pallik, the Rabbi-Turi."[2]

Perhaps the most striking feature of this inscription, when it is compared with other historical documents of the same kind belonging to other ages and nations, is its intensely religious character. The long and solemn invocation of the Great Gods with which it opens, the distinct ascription to their assistance and guardianship of the whole series of royal successes, whether in war or in the chase; the pervading idea that the wars were undertaken for the chastisement of the enemies of Asshur, and that their result was the

[1] *Inscription*, pp. 64-72. [2] Ibid. p. 72.

establishment in an ever-widening circle of the worship of Asshur; the careful account which is given of the erection and renovation of temples, and the dedication of offerings; and the striking final prayer —all these are so many proofs of the prominent place which religion held in the thoughts of the king who set up the inscription, and may fairly be accepted as indications of the general tone and temper of his people.[3] It is evident that we have here displayed to us, not a decent lip-service, not a conventional piety, but a real, hearty, earnest religious faith—a faith bordering on fanaticism—a spirit akin to that with which the Jews were possessed in their warfare with the nations of Canaan, or which the soldiers of Mahomet breathed forth when they fleshed their maiden swords upon the infidels. The king glorifies himself much; but he glorifies the gods more. He fights, in part, for his own credit, and for the extension of his territory; but he fights also for the honour of the gods, whom the surrounding nations reject, and for the diffusion of their worship far and wide throughout all known regions. His wars are religious wars, at least as much as wars of conquest; his buildings, or, at any rate, those on whose construction he dwells with most complacency, are religious buildings; the whole tone of his mind is deeply and sincerely religious; besides formal acknowledgements, he is continually letting drop little expressions which show that his gods are "in all his thoughts,"[4]

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[3] See above, vol. i. pp. 300, 301.

[4] *E. g.* even when bent on glorifying himself, the monarch is still "the illustrious chief, who, *under the auspices of the Sun God*, rules over *the people of Bel*" (p. 20), and "whose servants *Asshur has appointed* to the government of the four regions" (ibid.); if his enemies fly, "the *fear of Asshur* has overwhelmed them" (pp. 28, 36, &c.); if they refuse tribute, they "withhold the *offerings*

and represent to him real powers governing and directing all the various circumstances of human life. The religious spirit displayed is, as might have been expected, in the highest degree exclusive and intolerant; but it is earnest, constant, and all-pervading.

In the next place, we cannot fail to be struck with the energetic character of the monarch, so different from the temper which Ctesias ascribes, in the broadest and most sweeping terms, to all the successors of Ninus.[1] Within the first five years of his reign the indefatigable prince conducts in person expeditions into almost every country upon his borders; attacks and reduces six important nations,[2] besides numerous petty tribes;[3] receiving the submission of forty-two kings;[4] traversing the most difficult mountain regions; defeating armies, besieging towns, destroying forts and strongholds, ravaging territories; never allowing himself a moment of repose; when he is not engaged in military operations, devoting himself

due to Asshur" (p. 24); if the king himself feels inclined to make an expedition against a country, "his lord, *Asshur*, *invites him*" to proceed thither (pp. 34, 42, 48); if he collects an army, "*Asshur has committed* the troops to his hand" (p. 32). When a country not previously subject to Assyria is attacked, it is because the people "do not *acknowledge Asshur*" (p. 38); when its plunder is carried off, it is to adorn and enrich the temples of Asshur and the other gods (p. 40); when it yields, the first thing is to "*attach it to the worship of Asshur*" (pp. 38, 40, &c.). The king hunts "under the auspices of Nin and Nergal" (p. 54), or of "Nin and Asshur" (p. 58); he puts his tablets under the protection of Anu and Iva (p. 68); he assigns the long life of one ancestor to his eminent piety (p. 62), and the prosperity of another to the protection which Asshur vouchsafed him (p. 60). The name of Asshur occurs in the inscription nearly forty times, or almost once in each paragraph. The sun-god Shamas, the deities Anu, Iva, and Bel, are mentioned repeatedly. Acknowledgment is also made of Sin, the moon-god, of Nin, Nergal, Ishtar, Beltis, Martu, and Il or Ra. And all this is in an inscription which is not dedicatory but historical!

[1] Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 19.

[2] The Moschi, the people of Commagêné, the Naïri, the Aramæans, the people of Muzr, and the Comani.

[3] As the Kaski and Urumi, tribes of the Hittites, the people of Adavas, Tsaravas, Itsua, Daria, Muraddan, Khanni-rabbi, Miltis, or Melitêné, Dayan, &c.

[4] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, p. 52.

to the chase, contending with the wild bull and the lion, proving himself (like the first Mesopotamian king) in very deed "a mighty hunter,"[5] since he counts his victims by hundreds;[6] and all the while having regard also to the material welfare of his country, adorning it with buildings, enriching it with the products of other lands, both animal and vegetable, fertilizing it by means of works of irrigation, and in every way "improving the condition of the people, and obtaining for them abundance and security."[7]

With respect to the general condition of Assyria, it may be noted, in the first place, that the capital is still Asshur, and that no mention is made of any other native city.[8] The king calls himself "King of the four regions,"[9] which would seem to imply a division of the territory into districts, like that which certainly obtained in later times.[10] The mention of "*four*" districts is curious, since the same number was from the first affected by the Chaldæans,[11] while we have also evidence that, at least after the time of Sargon, there was a pre-eminence of four great cities in Assyria.[12] The limits of the territory at the time of the Inscription are not very clearly marked; but they do not seem to extend beyond the outer ranges[13] of Zagros on the east, Niphates on the north, and the Euphrates

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[5] Gen. x. 9.

[6] See above, p. 318.

[7] *Inscription*, p. 60.

[8] The existence of "great fortified cities throughout the dominions of the king" is mentioned (p. 58), but none is named except Asshur.

[9] *Inscription*, p. 20. And a little further on he is "the exalted sovereign whose servants Asshur has appointed to the government of *the country of the four regions*." What the four regions were we can only conjecture. Perhaps they were, 1, the country east of the Tigris; 2, that between the Tigris and the Khabour; 3, that between the Khabour and the Euphrates; and, 4, the mountain region upon the upper Tigris north of the Mesopotamian plain.

[10] See above, vol. i. p. 243.

[11] Ibid. p. 19. [12] Ibid. p. 248.

[13] *I. e.* the more westerly ranges. When the monarch crosses the Lower Zab, he is immediately in a hostile country. (*Inscription*, p. 38.)

upon the west. The southern boundary at the time was probably the commencement of the alluvium; but this cannot be gathered from the Inscription, which contains no notice of any expedition in the direction of Babylonia. The internal condition of Assyria is evidently flourishing. Wealth flows in from the plunder of the neighbouring countries; labour is cheapened by the introduction of enslaved captives;[14] irrigation is cared for; new fruits and animals are introduced; fortifications are repaired, palaces renovated, and temples beautified or rebuilt.

The countries adjoining upon Assyria on the west, the north, and the east, in which are carried on the wars of the period, present indications of great political weakness. They are divided up among a vast number of peoples, nations, and tribes, whereof the most powerful is only able to bring into the field a force of 20,000 men.[15] The peoples and nations possess but little unity. Each consists of various separate communities, ruled by their own kings, who in war unite their troops against the common enemy; but are so jealous of each other, that they do not seem even to appoint a generalissimo. On the Euphrates, between Hit and Carchemish, are, first, the Tsukhi or Shuhites, of whom no particulars are given; and, next, the Aramæans or Syrians, who occupy both banks of the river, and possess a number of cities, no one of which is of much strength. Above the Aramæans are the Khatti or Hittites, whose chief city, Carchemish, is an important place; they are

[14] Six thousand are enslaved on one occasion (p. 24); four thousand on another (p. 32). They are not reserved by the monarch for his own use, but are "given over for a spoil to the people of Assyria."

[15] Only two nations, the Moschi and the Comani, have armies of such strength as this. (*Inscription*, pp. 22 and 48.)

divided into tribes, and, like the Aramæans, occupy both banks of the great stream. North and north-west of their country, probably beyond the mountain-range of Amanus, are the Muskai (Moschi), an aggressive people, who were seeking to extend their territory eastward into the land of the Qummukh or people of Commagêné. These Qummukh hold the mountain country on both sides of the Upper Tigris, and have a number of strongholds, chiefly on the right bank. To the east they adjoin on the Kirkhi, who must have inhabited the skirts of Niphates, while to the south they touch the Naïri, who stretch from Lake Van, along the line of the Tigris, to the tract known as Commagêné to the Romans. The Naïri have, at the least, twenty-three kings,[16] each of whom governs his own tribe or city. South of the more eastern Naïri is the country of Muzr —a mountain tract well-peopled and full of castles, probably the region about Amadiyeh and Rowandiz. Adjoining Muzr to the east or north-east, are the *Quwanu* or Comani,[17] who are among the most powerful of Assyria's neighbours, being able, like the Moschi, to bring into the field an army of 20,000 men. At this time they are close allies of the people of Muzr. Finally, across the Lower Zab, on the skirts of Zagros, are various petty tribes of small account, who offer but little resistance to the arms of the invader.

Such was the position of Assyria among her neighbours in the latter part of the twelfth century before

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[16] Twenty-three are particularised (*Inscription*, pp. 42-44). But it is not said that there were no others.

[17] The Comani in later times disappeared from these parts; but there are traces of them both in Pontus and in the Lesser Armenia, which was sometimes reckoned to Cappadocia. Each of these districts had a town called Comana, the inhabitants of which were Comani or Comaneis. (See Strab. xii. pp. 777 and 793; Ptol. v. 6 and 7; Plin. *H. N.* vi. 3; Greg. Nyss. *Vit. Thaumat.* p. 561.)

Christ. She was a compact and powerful kingdom, centralised under a single monarch, and with a single great capital, in the midst of wild tribes which clung to a separate independence, each in its own valley or village. At the approach of a great danger, these tribes might consent to coalesce and to form alliances, or even confederations; but the federal tie, never one of much tenacity, and rarely capable of holding its ground in the presence of monarchic vigour, was here especially weak. After one defeat of their joint forces by the Assyrian troops, the confederates commonly dispersed, each flying to the defence of his own city or territory, with a short-sighted selfishness which deserved and ensured defeat. In one direction only was Assyria confronted by a rival state possessing a power and organization in character not unlike her own, though scarcely of equal strength. On her southern frontier, in the broad flat plain intervening between the Mesopotamian upland and the sea—the kingdom of Babylon was still existing; its Semitic kings, though originally established upon the throne by Assyrian influence,[18] had dissolved all connection with their old protectors, and asserted their thorough independence. Here, then, was a considerable state, as much centralised as Assyria herself, and not greatly inferior either in extent of territory or in population,[1] existing side by side with her, and constituting a species of check, whereby something like a balance of power was still maintained in Western

[18] Supra, p. 305.

[1] Assyria, within the limits above assigned to it (p. 326), must have contained an area of from 50,000 to 60,000 square miles. Babylonia contained about 25,000. The proportion is nearly that between England and Scotland, the actual size not being very different. Babylonia, however, was probably more thickly peopled than Assyria; so that the disproportion of the two populations would not be so great.

Asia, and Assyria was prevented from feeling herself the absolute mistress of the East, and the uncontrolled arbitress of the world's destinies.

Besides the great cylinder Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., there exist five more years of his annals in fragments, from which we learn that he continued his aggressive expeditions during this space, chiefly towards the north-west, subduing the Lulumi in Northern Syria, attacking and taking Carchemish, and pursuing the inhabitants across the Euphrates in boats.

No mention is made during this time of any collision between Assyria and her great rival, Babylon. The result of the wars waged by Asshur-ris-ilim against Nebuchadnezzar I.[2] had, apparently, been to produce in the belligerents a feeling of mutual respect; and Tiglath-Pileser, in his earlier years, neither trespassed on the Babylonian territory in his aggressive raids, nor found himself called upon to meet and repel any invasion of his own dominions by his southern neighbours. Before the close of his reign, however, active hostilities broke out between the two powers. Either provoked by some border ravage or actuated simply by lust of conquest, Tiglath-Pileser marched his troops into Babylonia. For two consecutive years he wasted with fire and sword the "upper" or northern provinces, taking the cities of Kurri-Galazu—now Akkerkuf—Sippara of the Sun, Sippara of Anunit (the Sepharvaim or "two Sipparas" of the Hebrews) and Hupa or Opis, on the Tigris; and finally capturing Babylon itself, which, strong as it was, proved unable to resist the invader. On his return he passed up the valley of the Euphrates, and took several cities from the Tsukhi. But here, it

[2] See above, p. 310.

would seem that he suffered a reverse. Merodach-iddin-akhi, his opponent, if he did not actually defeat his army, must, at any rate, have greatly harassed it on its retreat; for he captured an important part of its baggage. Indulging a superstition common in ancient times,[3] Tiglath-Pileser had carried with him in his expedition certain images of gods, whose presence would, it was thought, secure victory to his arms. Merodach-iddin-akhi obtained possession of these idols, and succeeded in carrying them off to Babylon, where they were preserved for more than 400 years, and considered as mementoes of victory.[4]

The latter days of this great Assyrian prince were thus, unhappily, clouded by disaster. Neither he, nor his descendants, nor any Assyrian monarch for four centuries succeeded in recovering the lost idols, and replacing them in the shrines from which they were taken. A hostile and jealous spirit appears henceforth in the relations between Assyria and Babylon; we find no more intermarriages of the one royal house with the other; wars are frequent—almost constant—nearly every Assyrian monarch, whose history is known to us in any detail, conducting at least one expedition into Babylonia.

[3] It was a feeling of this kind which induced the Israelites to send and fetch the ark of the covenant to their camp when they were contending with the Philistines (1 Sam. iv. 4), and which made the Spartans always take with them to battle one or both of two images (or rather symbols) of the Tyndarids, Castor and Pollux (Herod. v. 75). So, when the Bœotians asked aid from the Eginetans, these last sent them certain images of the Æacidæ (Herod. v. 80); and the United Greeks set so high a value on the presence of these same images that they sent expressly to fetch them when they were about to engage the Persian fleet at Salamis (Herod. viii. 64 and 83). Compare Strab. viii. p. 558, and Macrob. *Sat.* i. 23.

[4] The chief authority for this war is the "Synchronistic Tablet" already frequently quoted. The capture of the images is not mentioned on that tablet, but is taken from a famous rock-inscription of Sennacherib's at Bavian near Khorsabad. The idols are said to have been captured at the city of *Hekalin*, which is thought to have been near Tekrit.

A work still remains, belonging to the reign of this king, from which it appears that the peculiar character of Assyrian mimetic art was already fixed in his time, the style of representation being exactly such as prevailed at the most flourishing period, and the workmanship, apparently, not very inferior. In a cavern from which the Supnat river or eastern branch of the Tigris rises, close to a village called Korkhar, and about fifty or sixty miles north of Diarbekr, is a bas-relief sculptured on the natural rock, which has been smoothed for the purpose, consisting of a figure of the king in his sacerdotal dress with the right arm extended and the left hand grasping the sacrificial mace,[5] accompanied by an inscription which is read as follows :—

Figure of Tiglath-Pileser I. (From a rock tablet near Korkhar.)

"By the grace of Asshur, Shamas, and Iva, the Great Gods, I, Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, son of Asshur-ris-ilim, king of Assyria, who was the son of Mutaggil-Nebo, king of Assyria, marching from the great sea of Akhiri" (the Mediterranean) "to the sea Naïri" (Lake of Van), "for the third time have invaded the country of Naïri."[6]

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[5] The accompanying woodcut is made from a very rough drawing sent to England by the explorer, who is not a skilled draughtsman ; and it must therefore be regarded as giving a mere general notion of the bas-relief.

[6] This monument, the earliest Assyrian sculpture which is known to exist, is mentioned by Asshur-

The fact of his having warred in Lower Mesopotamia is almost the whole that is known of Tiglath-Pileser's son and successor, Asshur-bel-kala. A contest in which he was engaged with the Babylonian prince, Merodach-shapik-ziri (who seems to have been the successor of Merodach-iddin-akhi), is recorded on the famous synchronistic tablet, in conjunction with the Babylonian wars of his father and grandfather; but the tablet is so injured in this place that no particulars can be gathered from it. From a monument of Asshur-bel-kala's own time—one of the earliest Assyrian sculptures that has come down to us—we may perhaps further conclude that he inherited something of the religious spirit of his father, and gave a portion of his attention to the adornment of temples, and the setting up of images.[7]

The probable date of the reign of Asshur-bel-kala is about B.C. 1110-1090. He would thus seem to have been contemporary with the latter part of Samuel's judgeship, and he may possibly have outlived the appointment of Saul to be the first king of Israel.[8] So apparently insignificant an event was not likely to disturb the thoughts, even if

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idanni-pal, the father of the Black Obelisk king, in his great Inscription; and it was mainly in consequence of this mention that Mr. John Taylor, being requested by Sir H. Rawlinson to explore the sources of the Tigris, discovered, in 1862, the actual tablet, a circumstance which may serve to clear away any lingering doubts that still exist in any quarters as to the actual decipherment of the Assyrian inscriptions.

[7] A mutilated female figure, which is thought to be an image of the goddess Ishtar or Astarte, discovered by Mr. Loftus at Koyunjik, and now in the British Museum, bears a dedicatory inscription, almost illegible, from which it appears to have been set up by Asshur-bel-kala, the son of Tiglath-Pileser I. and grandson of Asshur-ris-elim. (See below, p. 351, note [6].)

[8] According to the ordinary Biblical Chronology, Saul's accession fell about the year B.C. 1096. Samuel's judgeship, which immediately preceded this, is placed between B.C. 1128 and B.C. 1096. (See Clinton, *F. H.* vol. i. p. 320, and compare Palmer, *Egyptian Chronicles*, vol. ii. p. 899.)

it came to the knowledge, of an Assyrian king. Asshur-bel-kala would no doubt have regarded with utter contempt the petty sovereign of so small a territory as Palestine, and would have looked upon the new kingdom as scarcely more worthy of his notice than any other of the ten thousand little principalities which lay on or near his borders. Could he, however, have possessed for a few moments the prophetic foresight vouchsafed some centuries earlier to one who may almost be called his countryman,[9] he would have been astonished to recognise in the humble kingdom just lifting its head in the far West, and struggling to hold its own against Philistine cruelty and oppression,[10] a power which in little more than fifty years would stand forth before the world as the equal, if not the superior, of his own state. The imperial splendour of the kingdom of David and Solomon did, in fact, eclipse for a while the more ancient glories of Assyria.[11] It is a curious circumstance that, exactly at the time when a great and powerful monarchy grew up in the tract between Egypt and the Euphrates, Assyria passed under a cloud. The history of the country is a blank for two centuries

[9] Pethor, where Balaam lived, was on the left bank of the Euphrates, in Aram-Naharaim or Mesopotamia. (Deut. xxiii. 4; compare Num. xxii. 5 and xxiii. 7.)

[10] 1 Sam. xiii. and xiv.

[11] The true character of the Jewish kingdom of David and Solomon as one of the Great Oriental Empires, on a par with Chaldæa and Assyria, and only less celebrated than the others from the accident of its being short-lived, has rarely been seized by historians. Milman indeed parallels the architectural glories of Solomon with those of the "older monarchs of Egypt and Assyria" (*History of the Jews*, vol. i. p. 261, 1st edition), and Ewald has one or two similar expressions; but neither writer appears to recognise the real greatness of the Hebrew kingdom. It remained for Dean Stanley, with his greater power of realising the past, to see that David, upon the completion of his conquests, "became a king *on the scale of the great Oriental sovereigns* of Egypt and Persia," founding "an imperial dominion," and placing himself "on a level with the great potentates of the world," as, for instance, "Rameses or Cyrus." (Stanley in Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* art. DAVID, vol. i. p. 408.)

between the reigns of Asshur-bel-kala and the second Tiglathi-Nin, whose accession is fixed by the Assyrian Canon to B.C. 890. During nearly three-fourths of this time, from about B.C. 1090 to B.C. 950, the very names of the monarchs are almost wholly unknown to us.[12] It seems as if there was not room in Western Asia for two first-class monarchies to exist and flourish at the same time; and so, although there was no contention, or even contact, between the two empires of Judæa and Assyria,[13] yet the rise of the one to greatness could only take place under the condition of a coincident weakness of the other.

It is very remarkable that exactly in this interval of darkness, when Assyria would seem, from the failure both of buildings and records, to have been especially and exceptionally weak,[14] occurs the first appearance of her having extended her influence beyond Syria into the great and ancient monarchy of Egypt. In the twenty-second Egyptian dynasty,

[12] The single name of Asshur-Mazur, which has been assigned to this period (supra, p. 291) is recovered from an inscription of Shalmaneser II., the Black Obelisk king, who speaks of a city, *Muddinu*, on the right bank of the Euphrates, which had been taken before his time by Tiglath-Pileser and Asshur-Mazur, kings of Assyria.

[13] The "Syrians that were beyond the river," who came to the assistance of the Ammonites in their war with David (2 Sam. x. 16), may possibly have been subjects or rather tributaries of Assyria (and in this sense is perhaps to be understood Ps. lxxxiii. 8); but the Assyrian empire itself evidently took no part in the struggle. The Assyrian monarchs at this time seem to have claimed no sovereignty beyond the Euphrates, while David and Solomon were content to push their conquests up to that river.

[14] Perhaps the true cause of Assyria's weakness at this time was that her star now paled before that of Babylon. The story told by Macrobius (*Sat.* i. 23) of communications between an Egyptian king, Senemur, or Senepos, and a certain Deleboras, or Deboras, whom he calls an Assyrian monarch, belongs probably to this period. Deboras was most likely a Babylonian, since he was lord of the Mesopotamian Heliopolis, which was Tsibur, or Sippara. It is suspected that he may be the Tsibir, who according to Asshur-idanni-pal (infra, p. 340), destroyed a city named Atlil, on the confines of Assyria. At any rate the very existence of communications between Babylon and Egypt would imply that Assyria was not at the time the *great* Mesopotamian power.

which began with Sheshonk I. or Shishak, the contemporary of Solomon, about B.C. 990, Assyrian names appear for the first time in the Egyptian dynastic lists. It has been supposed from this circumstance that the entire twenty-second dynasty, together with that which succeeded it, was Assyrian; but the condition of Assyria at the time renders such an hypothesis most improbable. The true explanation would seem to be that the Egyptian kings of this period sometimes married Assyrian wives, who naturally gave Assyrian names to some of their children. These wives were perhaps members of the Assyrian royal family; or perhaps they were the daughters of the Assyrian nobles who from time to time were appointed as viceroys of the towns and small states which the Ninevite monarchs conquered on the skirts of their empire. Either of these suppositions is more probable than the establishment in Egypt of a dynasty really Assyrian at a time of extraordinary weakness and depression.

When, at the close of this long period of obscurity, Assyria once more comes into sight, we have at first only a dim and indistinct view of her through the mists which still enfold and shroud her form. We observe that her capital is still fixed at Kileh-Sherghat, where a new series of kings, bearing names which, for the most part, resemble those of the earlier period, are found employing themselves in the repair and enlargement of public buildings, in connexion with which they obtain honourable mention in an inscription of a later monarch. Asshur-iddin-akhi, the first monarch of this group, probably ascended the throne about B.C. 950, shortly after the separation of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. He may have reigned from B.C. 950 to B.C. 930. He was then pro-

bably succeeded by Asshur-danin-il, who may perhaps have been his son, though of this there is no direct evidence. Asshur-danin-il, it is most likely, reigned from about B.C. 930 to B.C. 910, when, as is inferred from the Assyrian Canon,[1] he was succeeded by his son,[2] Ivalush III., who held the throne from B.C. 910 to B.C. 890. Nothing is known at present of the history of these monarchs. No historical inscriptions belonging to their reigns have been recovered; no exploits are recorded of them in the inscriptions of later sovereigns. They stand up before us, the mere "shadows of mighty names"—proofs of the uncertainty of posthumous fame, which is almost as often the award of chance as the deserved recompence of superior merit.

Of Tiglathi-Nin, the second monarch of the name and the fourth king of the group which we are considering, one important historical notice, contained in an inscription of his son, has come down to us. In the annals of the great Asshur-idanni-pal inscribed on the Nimrud monolith, that prince, while commemorating his warlike exploits, informs us that he set up his sculptures at the sources of the Tsupnat river alongside of sculptures previously set up by his ancestors Tiglath-Pileser and Tiglathi-Nin.[3] That Tiglathi-Nin should have made so distant an expedition is the more remarkable from the brevity of his reign, which only lasted for six years. He ascended

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[1] The part of the Canon which would have contained the name of Ivalush is broken off. It is inferred *from the number of the lines* (each of which marks a year) that the predecessor of Tiglathi-Nin II. was given a reign of twenty years.

[2] This relationship is established by the great inscription of Sardanapalus. (*British Museum Series*, Pls. 17 to 26.)

[3] Asshur-idanni-pal, it will be observed, does not call Tiglathi-Nin his father; and it is therefore possible that the former Tiglathi-Nin may be intended (see above, p. 306, note [11]). But as Tiglathi-Nin is mentioned after Tiglath-Pileser, it would rather seem that he was a later monarch.

the throne in the year B.C. 890; he was succeeded in B.C. 884 by his son Asshur-idanni-pal.

With Asshur-idanni-pal commences one of the most flourishing periods of the Empire. During the twenty-five years of his active and laborious reign, Assyria enlarged her bounds and increased her influence in almost every direction, while, at the same time, she advanced rapidly in wealth and in the arts; in the latter respect leaping suddenly to an eminence which (so far as we know) had not previously been reached by human genius. The size and magnificence of Asshur-idanni-pal's buildings, the artistic excellence of their ornamentation, the pomp and splendour which they set before us as familiar to the king who raised them, the skill in various useful arts which they display or imply, have excited the admiration of Europe, which has seen with astonishment that many of its inventions were anticipated, and that its luxury was almost equalled, by an Asiatic people nine centuries before the Christian era. It will be our pleasing task at this point of the history, after briefly sketching Asshur-idanni-pal's wars, to give such an account of the great works which he constructed as will convey to the reader at least a general idea of the civilization and refinement of the Assyrians at the period to which we are now come.

Asshur-idanni-pal's first campaign was in north-western Kurdistan and in the adjoining parts of Armenia. It does not present any very remarkable features, though he claims to have penetrated to a region "never approached by the kings, his fathers." His enemies are the Numi or Elami [4] (*i. e.* the moun-

[4] It has been supposed that the Numi of this passage are the same as those of many later inscriptions, and represent the Susianians or

taineers), and the Kirkhi, who seem to have left their name in the modern Kurkh.[5] Neither people appears to have been able to make much head against him; no battle was fought; the natives merely sought to defend their fortified places; but these were mostly taken and destroyed by the invader. One chief, who was made prisoner, received very barbarous treatment; he was carried to Arbela, and there flayed and hung up upon the town wall.

The second expedition of Asshur-idanni-pal, which took place in the same year as his first, was directed against the regions to the west and the north-west of Assyria. Traversing the country of Qummukh[1] and receiving its tribute, as well as that of Sirki[2] and Sidikan (Arban[3]), he advanced against the Laki, who seem to have been at this time the chief people of Central Mesopotamia, extending from the vicinity of Hatra as far as, or even beyond, the middle Euphrates. Here the people of a city called Assura had rebelled, murdered their governor, and called in a foreigner to rule over them. Asshur-idanni-pal marched hastily against the rebels, who

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Elamites. (See Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 353.) But the entire series of geographical names disproves this, and fixes the locality of the campaign to north-western Kurdistan and southern Armenia. The terms Numi and Elami, meaning simply "mountaineers" (compare Heb. עַל, עֲלֹה, and the like), would naturally be applied to many quite distinct tribes.

[5] The name of *Kurkh* is given by the natives to some important ruins on the right bank of the Tigris, about twenty miles below Diarbekr. These ruins cover a raised platform, six miles in circumference, crowned towards the south-east corner by a lofty mound, about 180 feet high. Some important Assyrian remains have been found on the site, which are now in the British Museum.

Kurkh is probably the Carcathiocerta of the classical writers. (Strab. xi. p. 766; Plin. *H.N.* vi. 9.) It is believed to be the same city as the *Tuskha* of the Assyrian inscriptions.

[1] Supra, p. 313, note [8].

[2] Circesium, according to Mr. Fox Talbot. (*Assyrian Texts*, p. 31.)

[3] See above, vol. i. pp. 235 and 258.

submitted at his approach, delivering up to his mercy both their city and their new king. The latter he bound with fetters and carried with him to Nineveh; the former he treated with almost unexampled severity.[4] Having first plundered the whole place, he gave up the houses of the chief men to his own officers, established an Assyrian governor in the palace, and then, selecting from the inhabitants the most guilty, he crucified some, burnt others, and punished the remainder by cutting off their ears or their noses. We can feel no surprise when we are informed that, while he was thus "arranging" these matters, the remaining kings of the Laki submissively sent in their tribute to the conqueror, paying it with apparent cheerfulness, though it was "a heavy and much increased burthen."

In his third expedition, which was in his second year, Asshur-idanni-pal turned his arms to the north, and marched towards the Upper Tigris, where he forced the kings of the Naïri, who had, it appears, regained their independence, to give in their submission, and appointed them an annual tribute in gold, silver, horses, cattle, and other commodities. It was in the course of this expedition that, having ascended to the sources of the Tsupnat river, or Eastern Tigris,[5] Asshur-idanni-pal set up his memo-

[4] The only parallel to this severity, which the Inscriptions offer, is furnished by Asshur-idanni-pal himself in his account of an expedition undertaken in the next year, where, on taking a revolted city (Tela), he tells us, "their men, young and old, I took prisoners. Of some I cut off the feet and hands; of others I cut off the noses, ears, and lips; of the young men's ears I made a heap; of the old men's heads I built a minaret. I exposed their heads as a trophy in front of their city. The male children and the female children I burnt in the flames. The city I destroyed, and consumed, and burnt with fire." (*Inscription*, col. i. ad fin.)

[5] The Tsupnat or Tsupna is now called the *Tsebeneh*—a slight corruption of the original appellation. It

rial side by side with monuments previously erected on the same site by Tiglath-Pileser and by the first or second Tiglathi-Nin.[6]

Asshur-idanni-pal's fourth campaign was towards the south-east. He crossed the lesser Zab, and, entering the Zagros range, carried fire and sword through its fruitful valleys—pushing his arms further than any of his ancestors, capturing some scores of towns, and accepting or extorting tribute from a dozen petty kings. The furthest extent of his march was probably the district of Zohab across the Shirwan branch of the Diyaleh, to which he gives the name of Edisa.[1] On his return he built, or rather rebuilt, a city, which a Babylonian king called Tsibir had destroyed at a remote period, and gave to his new foundation the name of Dur-Asshur, in grateful acknowledgment of the protection vouchsafed him by "the chief of the gods."

In his fifth campaign the warlike monarch once more directed his steps towards the north. Passing

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is probably the native term from which the Greeks and Romans formed the name Sophêné, whereby they designated the entire region between the Mons Masius and the Upper Euphrates. (See Strab. xi. p. 766; Plin. *H. N.* vi. 27; D. Cass. xxxvi. 36; Plut. *Vit. Lucull.* c. 24; Procop. *De Æd.* iii. 2, &c.) Mr. John Taylor has recently explored this region, and finds that the Tsupnat has an underground course of a considerable length through a cavern, which seems to be the fact exaggerated by Pliny (l. s. c.) into a passage of the Tigris underneath Mount Taurus. The Arab geographer, Yacut, gives an account far nearer the truth, making the Tigris flow from a dark cave near Hilluras ("Ιλλυρις of Procopius). It thus appears that both the Arabians and the Romans regarded the Tsupnat as the true Tigris, which is incorrect, as the stream that flows down from Lake Göljik is decidedly the main river. In the cave above-mentioned Mr. Taylor found two of the three memorials mentioned by Asshur-idanni-pal. These were his own, and Tiglath-Pileser's. The third had probably been destroyed by the falling in of a part of the cave.

[6] Supra, pp. 331, 332, and 336.

[1] Ptolemy calls the Diyaleh the Gorgus, Γόργος, (vi. i.), which is an Arian equivalent of the Semitic Edisa; for *edus* in Arabic is the same as *gurg* in Persian, meaning "a wolf or hyæna." Compare the name Λύκος given to the Zab, which had almost the same meaning. (Heb. זְאֵב.)

through the country of the Qummukh, and receiving their tribute, he proceeded to war in the eastern portion of the Mons Masius, where he took the cities of Matyat (now Mediyat) and Kapranisa. He then appears to have crossed the Tigris and warred on the flanks of Niphates, where his chief enemy was the people of Kasiyara. Returning thence, he entered the territory of the Naïri, where he declares that he overthrew and destroyed 250 strong walled cities, and put to death a considerable number of the princes.

The sixth campaign of Asshur-idanni-pal was in a westerly direction. Starting from Calah or Nimrud, he crossed the Tigris, and, marching through the middle of Mesopotamia a little to the north of the Sinjar range, took tribute from a number of subject towns along the courses of the rivers Jerujer,[2] Khabour, and Euphrates, among which the most important were Sidikan (now Arban), Sirki, and Anat (now Anah). From Anat, apparently his frontier-town in this direction, he invaded the country of the Tsukhi (Shuhites), captured their city Tsur,[3] and forced them, notwithstanding the assistance which they received from their neighbours, the Babylonians,[4] to surrender themselves. He then entered Chaldæa, and chastised the Chaldæans, after which he returned in triumph to his own country.

His seventh campaign was also against the Shuhites. Released from the immediate pressure of

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[2] This river, the Hermas of the Arabians, appears in Asshur-idanni-pal's inscriptions under the name of *Kharmesh*.

[3] Tsur, Tyre, may perhaps be cognate to the Hebrew צוּר, the original meaning of which is "a rock." The initial sibilant is however rather ס than צ.

[4] The Babylonian monarch of the time was Nebo-bal-adan. He is probably the son of thē Nebo-sum-iskun mentioned on the Synchronistic tablet as having warred with Asshur-idanni-pal.

his arms, they had rebelled, and had even ventured to invade the Assyrian Empire. The Laki, whose territory adjoined that of the Shuhites towards the north and east, assisted them. The combined army, which the allies were able to bring into the field, amounted probably to 20,000 men,[5] including a large number of warriors who fought in chariots. Asshur-idanni-pal first attacked the cities on the left bank of the Euphrates, which had felt his might on the former occasion; and, having reduced these and punished their rebellion with great severity,[6] he crossed the river on rafts, and fought a battle with the main army of the enemy. In this engagement he was completely victorious, defeating the Tsukhi and their allies with great slaughter, and driving their routed forces headlong into the Euphrates, where great numbers perished by drowning. Six thousand five hundred of the rebels fell in the battle; and the entire country on the right bank of the river, which had escaped invasion in the former campaign, was ravaged furiously with fire and sword by the incensed monarch. The cities and castles were burnt, the males put to the sword, the women, children, and cattle carried off. Two kings of the Laki are mentioned, of whom one escaped, while the other was made prisoner, and conveyed to Assyria by the conqueror. A rate of tribute was then imposed on the land considerably in advance of that to which it had previously been liable. Besides

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[5] The scribe has accidentally written the number as "6000," instead of "10,000 or 20,000." Immediately afterwards he states that 6500 of these 6000 were slain in the battle!

[6] Asshur-idanni-pal says that he "made a desert" of the banks of the Khabour. Thirty of the chief prisoners were impaled on stakes.

this, to strengthen his hold on the country, the conqueror built two new cities, one on either bank of the Euphrates, naming the city on the left bank after himself, and that on the right bank after the god Asshur. Both of these places were no doubt left well garrisoned with Assyrian soldiers, on whom the conqueror could place entire reliance.

Asshur-idanni-pal's eighth campaign was nearly in the same quarter; but its exact scene lay, apparently, somewhat higher up the Euphrates. Hazilu, the king of the Laki, who escaped capture in the preceding expedition, had owed his safety to the refuge given him by the people of Beth-Adina. Asshur-idanni-pal, who seems to have regarded their conduct on this occasion as an insult to himself, and was resolved to punish their presumption, made his eighth expedition solely against this bold but weak people. Unable to meet his forces in the field, they shut themselves up in their chief city, Kabrabi (?), which was immediately besieged, and soon taken and burnt by the Assyrians. The country of Beth-Adina, which lay on the left or east bank of the Euphrates, in the vicinity of the modern Balis, was overrun and added to the empire.[7] Two thousand five hundred prisoners were carried off and settled at Calah.

The most interesting of Asshur-idanni-pal's campaigns is the ninth, which was against Syria. Having marched across Upper Mesopotamia and received

[7] It may be conjectured that the people of Beth-Adina are "the children of Eden," of whom we have mention in Kings (2 K. xix. 12) and Isaiah (xxxvii. 12), and who in Sennacherib's time inhabited a city called Tel-Asshur. The indications of locality mentioned in these passages, and also those furnished by Ezek. xxvii. 25, suit well with the vicinity of Balis. Tel-Asshur may possibly be the city built by Asshur-idanni-pal, and named after the god Asshur at the close of his seventh campaign.

various tributes upon his way, the Assyrian monarch crossed the Euphrates on rafts, and, entering the city of Carchemish, received the submission of Sangara, the Hittite prince, who ruled in that town, and of various other chiefs, "who came reverently and kissed his sceptre." He then "gave command to advance towards Lebanon." Entering the territory of the Patena,[8] who adjoined upon the northern Hittites, and held the country about Antioch and Aleppo, he occupied the capital, Kinalua, which was between the Abri (or Afrin) and the Orontes; alarmed the rebel king, Lubarna, so that he submitted, and consented to pay a tribute; and, then, crossing the Orontes and destroying certain cities of the Patena, passed along the northern flank of Lebanon, and reached the Mediterranean. Here he erected altars and offered sacrifices to the gods, after which he received the submission of the principal Phœnician states, among which Tyre, Sidon, Byblus, and Aradus may be distinctly recognised. He then proceeded inland, and visited the mountain range of Amanus, where he cut timber, set up a sculptured memorial, and offered sacrifice. After this he returned to Assyria, carrying with him, besides other plunder, a quantity of wooden beams, probably cedar, which he carefully conveyed to Nineveh, to be used in his public buildings.

The tenth campaign of Asshur-idanni-pal, and the last which is recorded, was in the region of the

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[8] Mr. Fox Talbot compares this name with that of the city Batnæ visited by Julian. (*Assyrian Texts*, p. 32.) Sir H. Rawlinson has suggested a comparison with the Batanæa of the Greeks and Romans. The position of the Patena at this time was, however, much further north than Batanæa, which rather corresponds with Bashan.

Upper Tigris. The geographical details here are difficult to follow. We can only say that, as usual, the Assyrian monarch claims to have overpowered all resistance, to have defeated armies, burnt cities, and carried off vast numbers of prisoners. The "royal city" of the monarch chiefly attacked was Amidi, now Diarbekr, which sufficiently marks the main locality of the expedition.[1]

While engaged in these important wars, which were all included within his first six years, Asshur-idanni-pal, like his great predecessor, Tiglath-Pileser, occasionally so far unbent as to indulge in the recreation of hunting. He interrupts the account of his military achievements to record, for the benefit of posterity, that on one occasion he slew fifty large wild bulls on the left bank of the Euphrates, and captured eight of the same animals; while, on another, he killed twenty ostriches (?), and took captive the same number. We may conclude, from the example of Tiglath-Pileser,[2] and from other inscriptions of Asshur-idanni-pal himself, that the captured animals were conveyed to Assyria either as curiosities, or, more probably, as objects of chase. Asshur-idanni-pal's sculptures show that the pursuit of the wild bull was one of his favourite occupations;[3] and, as the animals were scarce in Assyria, he may have found it expedient to import them.

Asshur-idanni-pal appears, however, to have pos-

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[1] Amidi continued to be known as Amida through the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine periods, and is mentioned under that name by Zosimus (iii. 34), Procopius (*Bell. Pers.* i. 17), Eustathius of Epiphania, and others. The Arabic name of Diarbekr ("the country of Bekr") superseded that of Amida in the seventh century. Diarbekr is, however, still known as *Amid* or *Kara Amid* to the Turks and Armenians.

[2] Supra, p. 318.

[3] See pages 130 to 133.

sessed a menagerie park in the neighbourhood of Nineveh, in which were maintained a variety of strange and curious animals. Animals called *pagúts* or *pagáts* — perhaps elephants — were received as tribute from the Phœnicians during his reign, on at least one occasion, and placed in this enclosure, where (he tells us) they throve and bred. So well was his taste for such curiosities known, that even neighbouring sovereigns sought to gratify it, and the king of Egypt, a Pharaoh probably of the twenty-first dynasty, sent him a present of strange animals when he was in Southern Syria, as a compliment likely to be appreciated. His love of the chase, which he no doubt indulged to some extent at home, found in Syria, and in the country on the Upper Tigris, its amplest and most varied exercise. In an obelisk inscription, designed especially to commemorate a great hunting expedition into these regions, he tells us that, besides antelopes of all sorts, which he took and sent to Asshur, he captured and destroyed the following animals:—lions, wild sheep, red deer, fallow-deer, wild goats or ibexes, leopards large and small, bears, wolves, jackals, wild boars, ostriches, foxes, hyænas, wild asses, and a few kinds which have not been identified.[4] From another inscription we learn that, in the course of another expedition, which seems to have been in the Mesopotamian desert, he destroyed 360 large lions, 257 large wild cattle, and thirty buffaloes, while he took and sent to Calah fifteen full grown lions, fifty young lions, some

[4] See a paper published by Sir H. Rawlinson in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. vii. New Series, p. 9. A few variations from the passage in the *Transactions* will be found in the text. They have the sanction of the writer.

leopards, several pairs of wild buffaloes and wild cattle, together with ostriches, wolves, red deer, bears, cheetas, and hyænas.[5] Thus in his peaceful hours he was still actively employed, and, in the chase of many dangerous beasts, was able to exercise the same qualities of courage, coolness, and skill in the use of weapons, which procured him in his wars such frequent and such great successes.

Thus distinguished, both as a hunter and as a warrior, Asshur-idanni-pal, nevertheless, excelled his predecessors most remarkably in the grandeur of his public buildings and the free use which he made of the mimetic and other arts in their ornamentation. The constructions of the earlier kings at Asshur (or Kileh-Sherghat), whatever merit they may have had, were beyond a doubt far inferior to those which, from the time of Asshur-idanni-pal, were raised in rapid succession at Calah, Nineveh, and Beth-Sargina by that monarch and his successors upon the throne. The mounds of Kileh-Sherghat have yielded no sculptures, nor do they show any traces of buildings on the scale of those which, at Nimrud, Koyunjik, and Khorsabad, provoke the admiration of the traveller. The great palace of Asshur-idanni-pal was at Calah, which he first raised from a provincial town to be the metropolis of the empire. It was a building 360 feet long by 300 broad, consisting of seven or eight large halls, and a far greater number of small chambers, grouped round a central court 130 feet long and nearly 100 wide. The longest of the halls, which faced towards the north, and was the first room

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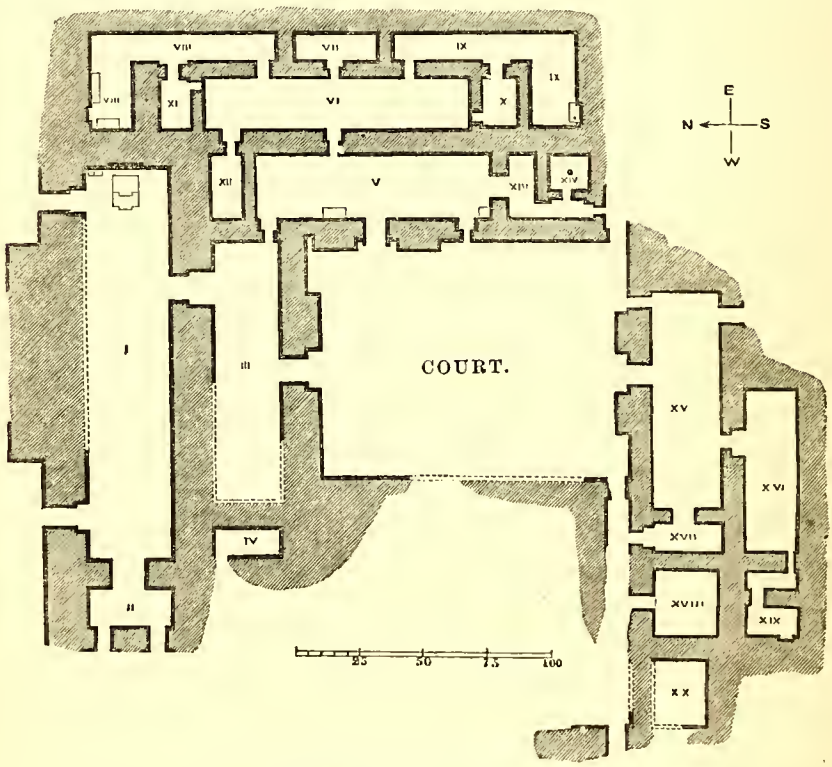
[5] This inscription is on the altar found at Nimrud in front of this king's sculptured effigy. (Infra, p. 354.)

entered by one who approached from the town, was in length 154 and in breadth thirty-three feet. The others varied between a size little short of this, and a length of sixty-five with a breadth of less than twenty feet. The chambers were generally square, or nearly so, and in their greatest dimensions rarely exceeded



Plan of Palace of Asshur-idanni-pal.

ten yards. The whole palace was raised upon a lofty platform, made of sun-burnt brick, but externally cased on every side with hewn stone. There were two grand façades, one facing the north, on which side there was an ascent to the platform from the town; and the other facing the Tigris,[6] which an-

[6] This, at least, is the opinion of Mr. Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 654), who has even ventured, with the help of Mr. Fergusson, to reconstruct the river façade. (*Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 1.)

ciently flowed at the foot of the platform towards the west. On the northern front two or three great gateways,[7] flanked with andro-sphinxes,[8] gave direct access to the principal hall or audience chamber, a noble apartment, but too narrow for its length, lined throughout with sculptured slabs representing the various actions of the king, and containing at the upper or eastern end a raised stone platform cut into steps, which, it is probable, was intended to support at a proper elevation the carved throne of the monarch.[9] A grand portal in the southern wall of the chamber, guarded on either side by winged human-headed bulls in yellow limestone, conducted into a second hall considerably smaller than the first, and having less variety of ornament,[10] which communicated with the central court by a handsome gateway towards the south; and, towards the east, was connected with a third hall, one of the most remarkable in the palace. This chamber was a better-proportioned room than most, being about ninety feet long by twenty-six wide; it ran along the eastern side of the great court, with which it communicated by two gateways; and, internally, it was adorned with sculptures of a more finished and elaborate character than any other room in the building.[11] Behind this eastern

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[7] Only two were uncovered by Mr. Layard; but he believes that there was a third between them, as at Koyunjik and Khorsabad. (*Nin. and Bab.* l. s. c. Compare above, vol. i. pp. 365-367.)

[8] This term is intended to express the winged lions which have the form of a man *down to the waist.* (Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 42.)

[9] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. p. 383; *Monuments*, 1st Series, p. 6.

[10] This hall was about 100 feet long by 25 broad. All the slabs except one were ornamented with colossal eagle-headed figures in pairs, facing one another, and separated by the sacred tree.

[11] From the upper or northern end of this hall was obtained the magnificently dressed group, figured by Mr. Layard in the 1st Series of his

hall was another opening into it, of somewhat greater length, but only twenty feet wide; and this led to five small chambers, which here bounded the palace. South of the Great Court were, again, two halls communicating with each other; but they were of inferior size to those on the north and west, and were far less richly ornamented. It is conjectured that there were also two or three halls on the west side of the Court between it and the river;[1] but of this there was no very clear evidence, and it may be doubted whether the court towards the west was not, at least partially, open to the river. Almost every hall had one or two small chambers attached to it, which were most usually at the ends of the halls and connected with them by large doorways.

Such was the general plan of the palace of Asshur-idanni-pal. Its great halls, so narrow for their length, were probably roofed with beams stretching across them from side to side, and lighted by small *louvres* in their roofs after the manner described in the former volume.[2] Its square chambers may have been domed,[3] and perhaps were not lighted at all, or only by lamps and torches. They were generally without ornamentation.[4] The grand halls, on the contrary, and some of the narrower chambers, were decorated on every side, first with sculptures to the height of nine or ten feet, and then with enamelled bricks, or

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Monuments, Pl. 5, and now in the British Museum. "All the figures in the chamber," says Mr. Layard, "are colossal, and are remarkable for the careful finish of the sculptures and elaborate nature of the ornaments." (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. p. 305.)

[1] See the plan of the Nimrud ruins in Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, opp. p. 655.

[2] See vol. i. p. 381.

[3] Like the rooms in ordinary Assyrian houses. (See the representation, vol. i. p. 403.)

[4] Their walls had the usual covering of alabaster slabs, but these slabs were inscribed only, and not sculptured.

patterns painted in fresco, to the height, probably, of seven or eight feet more. The entire height of the rooms was thus from fifteen to seventeen or eighteen feet.

The character of Asshur-idanni-pal's sculptures has been sufficiently described in an earlier chapter.[5] They have great spirit, boldness, and force; occasionally they shew real merit in the design; but they are clumsy in the drawing and somewhat coarse in the execution. What chiefly surprises us in regard to them is the suddenness with which the art they manifest appears to have sprung up, without going through the usual stages of rudeness and imperfection. Setting aside one mutilated statue of very poor execution[6] and a single rock tablet,[7] we have no specimens remaining of Assyrian mimetic art more ancient than this monarch.[8] That art almost seems to start in Assyria, like Minerva from the head of Jove, full grown. Asshur-idanni-pal had undoubtedly some constructions of former monarchs to copy from, both in his palatial and in his sacred edifices; the old palaces and temples at Kileh-Sherghat must have had a certain grandeur; and in his architecture this monarch may have merely amplified and improved

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[5] Vol. i. ch. vi. pp. 428-432.

[6] A mutilated female statue, brought from Koyunjik, and now in the cellars of the British Museum, is inscribed with the name of Asshur-bel-kala, son of Tiglath-Pileser, and is the earliest *Assyrian* sculpture which has been brought to Europe. The figure wants the head, the two arms from the elbows, and the front part of the feet. It is in a coarse stone, and appears to have been very rudely carved. The size is a little below that of life. The proportions are bad, the length of the body between the arms and the legs being much too short. There are appearances from which it is concluded that the statue had been made to subserve the purposes of a fountain.

[7] The tablet of Tiglath-Pileser I., of which a representation has been already given (supra, p. 331).

[8] Some signet-cylinders of Assyrian workmanship *may* be earlier. But their date is uncertain.

upon the models left him by his predecessors; but his ornamentation, so far as appears, was his own. The mounds of Kileh-Sherghat have yielded bricks in abundance, but not a single fragment of a sculptured slab.[9] We cannot prove that ornamental bas-reliefs did not exist before the time of Asshur-idanni-pal; indeed the rock tablets, which earlier monarchs set up, were sculptures of this character; but to Asshur-idanni-pal seems at any rate to belong the merit of having first adopted bas-reliefs on an extensive scale as an architectural ornament, and of having employed them so as to represent by their means all the public life of the monarch.

The other arts employed by this king in the adornment of his buildings were those of enamelling bricks and painting in fresco upon a plaster. Both involve considerable skill in the preparation of colours, and the former especially implies much dexterity in the management of several very delicate processes.[10]

The sculptures of Asshur-idanni-pal, besides proving directly the high condition of mimetic art in Assyria at this time, furnish indirect evidence of the wonderful progress which had been made in various important manufactures. The metallurgy which produced the swords, sword-sheaths, daggers, ear-rings, necklaces, armlets, and bracelets of this period,[11] must have been of a very advanced description. The coach-building, which constructed the chariots, the saddlery which made the harness of the horses, the

[9] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. pp. 58-60; *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 581. Small bits of basalt, fragments probably of an obelisk, a rude statue (see vol. i. p. 423), and some portions of a winged bull, are all the works of art which Kileh-Sherghat has yielded. The statue is later than the time of Asshur-idanni-pal.

[10] See vol. i. pp. 473, 474.

[11] For representations, see vol. i. pp. 457, 461; and supra, pp. 63, 66.

embroidery which ornamented the robes,[12] must, similarly, have been of a superior character. The evidence of the sculptures alone is quite sufficient to show that, in the time of Asshur-idanni-pal, the Assyrians were already a great and luxurious people, that most of the useful arts not only existed among them but were cultivated to a high pitch, and that in dress, furniture, jewellery, &c., they were not very much behind the moderns.

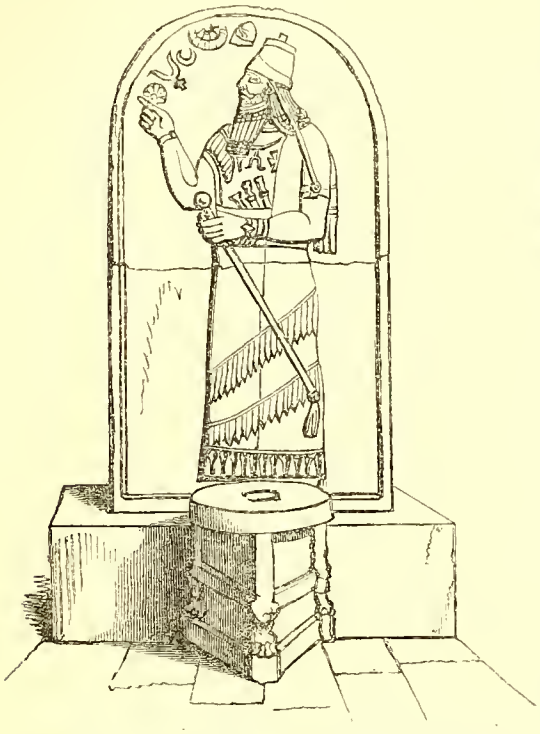
Besides the magnificent palace which he built at Calah, Asshur-idanni-pal is known also to have erected a certain number of temples. The most important of these have been already described.[13] They stood at the north-western corner of the Nimrud platform and consisted of two edifices, one exactly at the angle, comprising the high tower or *ziggurat*,[14] which stood out as a sort of corner buttress from the great mound, and a shrine with chambers at the tower's base; the other, a little further to the east, consisting of a shrine and chambers without a tower. These temples were richly ornamented both within and without; and in front of the larger one was an erection which seems to show that the Assyrian monarchs, either during their lifetime, or at any rate after their decease, received divine honours from their subjects. On a plain square pedestal about two feet in height was raised a solid block of limestone cut into the shape of an arched frame, and within this frame was carved the monarch in his sacerdotal dress, and with the sacred collar round his neck, while the five principal divine emblems were represented above

[12] See vol. i. pp. 492, 493; and compare Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. pp. 321 and 412-414.

[13] Supra, vol. i. pp. 394-402.

[14] This tower, however, was partly the work of Asshur-idanni-pal's son and successor, Shalmaneser II.

his head.[15] In front of this figure, marking (apparently) the object of its erection,[16] was a triangular altar with a circular top, very much resembling the tripod of the Greeks.[1] Here we may presume were laid the offerings with which the credulous and the servile propitiated the new god, who may not improbably have intercepted many a gift on its way to the deity of the temple.



Stele of Asshur-idanni-pal, with altar in front (Nimrud).

Another temple built by this monarch was one dedicated to Beltis at Nineveh. It was perhaps for the ornamentation of this edifice that he cut "great trees" in Amanus and elsewhere during his Syrian expedition, and had them conveyed across Mesopotamia to Assyria. It is expressly stated that these beams were carried, not to Calah, where Asshur-idanni-pal usually resided, but to Nineveh.

A remarkable work, probably erected by this monarch, and set up as a memorial of his reign at

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[15] A stele of the same king, closely resembling this, but of a ruder character, has been recently brought to England from Kurkh, near Diarbekr, and added to the National Collection.

[16] The custom of placing an altar directly in front of a sculptured representation of the king appears also in one of the bas-reliefs of Asshur-bani-pal, where there is an arched frame very like this of Asshur-idanni-pal, apparently set up against a temple, with an altar at a little distance, placed in a pathway leading directly to the royal image. (See vol. i. p. 388, No. V.)

[1] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 351.

the same city, is an obelisk in white stone, now in the British Museum. On this monument, which was covered on all its four sides with sculptures and inscriptions, now nearly obliterated, Asshur-idanni-pal commemorated his wars and hunting exploits in various countries. The obelisk is a monolith, about twelve or thirteen feet high, and two feet broad at the base.[2] It tapers slightly, and, like the Black Obelisk erected by this monarch's son,[3] is crowned at the summit by three steps or gradines. This thoroughly Assyrian ornamentation[4] seems to show that the idea of the obelisk was not derived from Egypt, where the pyramidical apex was universally used, being regarded as essential to this class of ornaments.[5] If we must seek a foreign origin for the invention, we may perhaps find it in the pillars (*στῆλαι* or *κίονες*) which the Phœnicians employed, as ornaments or memorials, from a remote antiquity,[6] objects possibly seen by the monarch who took tribute from Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, Byblus, and most of the maritime Syrian cities.[7]

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[2] Two feet, that is, on the broader face; on the narrower one the width is less than 14 inches.

[3] See vol. i. p. 333, where this monument is represented.

[4] For its constant use in Assyria, see vol. i. pp. 322, 333, 349, 386, 387, 388, 391, &c.

[5] Amm. Marc. xvii. 4; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 14.

[6] See Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 356; and compare Eupolemus in Polyhistor's Fragments (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* vol. iii. p. 228), Menander (Fr. 1), and Herodotus (ii. 44).

[7] Fragments of two other obelisks, one certainly, the other probably, erected by this monarch, were discovered at Koyunjik by Mr. Loftus, and are also in the British Museum. One was in white stone, and had sculptures on one side only, being chiefly covered with an inscription commemorating, in two columns, first, certain hunting exploits in Syria, and secondly, the repairs of the city of Asshur. This had two gradines at the top, and was two feet wide on its broader, and sixteen inches on its narrower face. The other obelisk was in black basalt, and had sculptures on every side, representing the king receiving tribute-bearers. It must have been larger than any other work of this kind which has been found in Assyria; for its width at top was two feet eight inches on the broader, and nearly two feet on the narrower face, which would imply a height of from

Another most important work of this great monarch was the tunnel and canal already described at length,[8] by which at a vast expenditure of money and labour he brought the water of the Greater Zab to Calah. Asshur-idanni-pal mentions this great work as his in his annals; and he was likewise commemorated as its author in the tablet set up in the tunnel by Sennacherib, when, two centuries later, he repaired it and brought it once more into use.

It is evident that Asshur-idanni-pal, though he adorned and beautified both the old capital, Asshur, and the now rising city of Nineveh, regarded the town of Calah with more favour than any other, making it the ordinary residence of his court, and bestowing on it his chief care and attention. It would seem that the Assyrian dominion had by this time spread so far to the north that the situation of Asshur (or Kileh-Sherghat) was no longer sufficiently central for the capital. The seat of government was consequently moved forty miles further up the river. At the same time it was transferred from the west bank to the east, and placed in the fertile region of Adiabêné,[9] near the junction of the Greater Zab with the Tigris. Here, in a strong and healthy position, on a low spur from the Jebel Maklub, protected on either side by a deep river, the new capital grew to greatness. Palace after palace rose on its lofty platform, rich with carved woodwork, gilding, painting, sculpture, and enamel, each aiming to outshine its predecessors; while stone lions, sphinxes, obelisks, shrines, and temple-towers embellished the scene,

fifteen to twenty feet. It is uncertain whether this obelisk terminated in gradines.

[8] Supra, pp. 194-196.

[9] Adiabêné is properly the country *between* the Upper and Lower Zab, but it is not unusual to extend the term to the whole Zab region.

breaking its monotonous sameness by variety. The lofty *ziggurat* attached to the temple of Nin or Hercules, dominating over the whole, gave unity to the vast mass of palatial and sacred edifices. The Tigris, skirting the entire western base of the mound, glassed it in its waves, and, doubling the apparent height, rendered less observable the chief weakness of the architecture. When the setting sun lighted up the whole with the gorgeous hues seen only under an Eastern sky, Calah must have seemed to the traveller who beheld it for the first time like a vision from fairy land.

After reigning gloriously for twenty-five years, from B.C. 884 to B.C. 859, this great prince—"the conqueror" (as he styles himself), "from the upper passage of the Tigris to Lebanon and the Great Sea, who has reduced under his authority all countries from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same"[10]—died, probably at no very advanced age,[11] and left his throne to his son, who bore the name of Shalmaneser.

Shalmaneser the Second, the son of Asshur-idanni-pal, who may probably have been trained to arms under his father, seems to have inherited to the full his military spirit, and to have warred with at least as much success against his neighbours. His reign was extended to the unusual length of thirty-five years,[12] during which time he conducted in person no fewer than twenty-three military expeditions, besides

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[10] See Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 361.

[11] As his father reigned only six, and his grandfather only twenty years, Asshur-idanni-pal is not likely to have been much more than twenty or twenty-five years old when he came to the throne.

[12] No other Assyrian king is known to have reigned so long. The nearest approach to a reign of this length is made by Ivalush IV., Shalmaneser's grandson, who reigns 29 years. At Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar reigns 43 years; but no other monarch in Ptolemy's list much exceeds 20 years.

entrusting three or four others to a favourite general. It would be a wearisome task to follow out in detail these numerous and generally uninteresting campaigns, where invasion, battle, flight, siege, submission, and triumphant return succeeded one another with monotonous uniformity. The style of the court historians of Assyria does not improve as time goes on. Nothing can well be more dry and commonplace than the historical literature of this period,[13] which recalls the early efforts of the Greeks in this department,[14] and exhibits a decided inferiority to the compositions of Stowe and Holinshed. The historiographer of Tiglath-Pileser I.,[1] between two and three centuries earlier, is much superior, as a writer, to those of the period to which we are come, who eschew all graces of style, contenting themselves with the curtest and driest of phrases, and with sentences modelled on a single unvarying type.

Instead, therefore, of following in the direct track of the annalist whom Shalmaneser employed to record his exploits, and proceeding to analyse his account of the twenty-seven campaigns belonging to

[13] Take, for instance, the following passage from the Annals of Asshur-idanni-pal:—

"On the sixth day of the month Su from the city Tabiti I departed. By the side of the river Kharmesh I marched. In the city Magarisi I halted. From the city Magarisi I departed. At the banks of the river Khabour I arrived. In the city Shadikanni I halted. The tribute of the city Shadikanni I received—silver, gold, iron, bars of copper, sheep and goats. From the city Shadikanni I departed. In the city Katni I halted," &c. &c.

Or the following from the Annals of Shalmaneser II., which is a very ordinary specimen:—

"In my 25th year I crossed the Euphrates through deep water. I received the tribute of all the kings of the Khatti. I passed over Mount Khamana, and went down to the towns of Kati of Cawin. I attacked and captured Timur, his stronghold. I slew his fighting men and carried away his spoil. I overthrew, beat to pieces, and consumed with fire towns without number. On my return I chose Muru, a stronghold of Arami, the son of Ashaltsi, to be one of my frontier cities."

[14] See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 117, note [4], 2nd edition.

[1] See above, pp. 311-322.

this reign, I shall simply present the reader with the general result in a few words, and then draw his special attention to a few of the expeditions which are of more than common importance.

It appears, then, that Shalmaneser, during the first twenty-seven years of his reign, led in person twenty-three expeditions into the territories of his neighbours, attacking in the course of these inroads besides petty tribes—the following nations and countries:—Babylonia, Chaldæa, Media, the Zimri, Armenia, Upper Mesopotamia, the country about the head-streams of the Tigris, the Hittites, the Patena, the Tibareni, the Hamathites, and the Syrians of Damascus. He took tribute during the same time from the Phœnician cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus, from the Tsukhi or Shuhites, from the people of Muzr, from the Bartsu or Partsu, who are almost certainly the Persians, and from the Israelites. He thus traversed in person the entire country between the Persian Gulf on the south and Mount Niphates upon the north, and between the Zagros range (or perhaps the Persian desert) eastward, and, westward, the shores of the Mediterranean. Over the whole of this region he made his power felt, and even beyond it the nations feared him and gladly placed themselves under his protection. During the later years of his reign, when he was becoming less fit for warlike toils, he seems in general to have deputed the command of his armies to a subject in whom he had great confidence, a noble named Dayn-Asshur. This chief, who held an important office as early as Shalmaneser's third year,[2] was in his twenty-seventh,

[2] In the third year of Shalmaneser, Dayn-Asshur was Eponym, as appears both from the Assyrian Canon and the Inscription on the Black Obelisk.

twenty-eighth, thirtieth, and thirty-first, employed as commander-in-chief, and sent out, at the head of the main army of Assyria, to conduct campaigns against the Armenians, against the revolted Patena, and against the inhabitants of the modern Kurdistan. It is uncertain whether the king himself took any part in the campaigns of these years. In the native record the first and third persons are continually interchanged,[3] some of the actions related being ascribed to the monarch and others to the general; but on the whole the impression left by the narrative is that the king, in the spirit of a well-known legal maxim,[4] assumes as his own the acts which he has accomplished through his representative. In his twenty-ninth year, however, Shalmaneser seems to have led an expedition in person into Khirki (the Niphates country), where he "overturned, beat to pieces, and consumed with fire the towns, swept the country with his troops, and impressed on the inhabitants the fear of his presence."

The campaigns of Shalmaneser which have the greatest interest are those of his sixth, eighth, ninth, eleventh, fourteenth, eighteenth, and twenty-first years. Two of these were directed against Babylonia, three against Ben-hadad[5] of Damascus, and two against Khazail (Hazael) of Damascus.

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[3] The subjoined passage will show the curious intermixture of persons:—

"In my 30th year, while I was waiting in Calah, I sent out in haste Dayn-Asshur, the general-in-chief of my whole army, at the head of my army. *He* crossed the Zab, and arrived among the towns of Hupuska. *I* received the tribute of Datan, the Hupuskan. *I* departed from the towns of the Hupuskans. *He* arrived at the towns of Magdubi, the Madakhirian. *I* received tribute. *He* departed from the towns of the Madakhirians, and arrived among the towns of Udaki the Mannian. Udaki fled to save his life. *I* pursued him," &c.

[4] "Quod facit per alium, facit per se."

[5] The king's name, as given on the Obelisk, will not read as Ben-hadad; but there can scarcely be a doubt that that king is intended. Ben-hadad was perhaps, like Pharaoh and Cæsar, a title assumed by each successive sovereign. (See Nic. Dam. Fr. 31.)

In his eighth year Shalmaneser took advantage of a civil war in Babylonia between King Merodach-sum-adin, and a younger brother, Merodach-bel-**, whose power was about evenly balanced, to interfere in the affairs of that country, and under pretence of helping the legitimate monarch, to make himself master of several towns. In the following year he was still more fortunate. Having engaged, defeated, and slain the pretender to the Babylonian crown, he marched on to Babylon itself, where he was probably welcomed as a deliverer, and from thence proceeded into Chaldæa, or the tract upon the coast, which was at this time independent of Babylon, and forced its kings to become his tributaries. "The power of his army," he tells us, "struck terror as far as the sea."

The wars of Shalmaneser in Southern Syria commenced as early as his ninth year. He had succeeded to a dominion in Northern Syria, which extended over the Patena, and probably over most of the northern Hittites;[6] and this made his territories conterminous with those of the Phœnicians, the Hamathites, the southern Hittites, and perhaps the Syrians of Damascus.[7] At any rate the last-named people felt themselves threatened by the growing power on or near their borders, and, convinced that they would soon be attacked, prepared for resistance by entering into a close league with their neighbours. The king of Damascus, who was the great Ben-hadad, the king of Hamath, the kings of the southern Hittites, those of the Phœnician cities on the coast, and others,

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[6] Sangara, king of Carchemish, and Lubarna, king of the Patena, had submitted to Asshur-idanni-pal. (Supra, p. 344.)

[7] This is doubtful. The southern Hittites may have entirely separated the Damascus territory from that now possessed by Assyria.

formed an alliance, and, uniting their forces,[8] went out boldly to meet Shalmaneser, offering him battle. Despite, however, of this confidence, or perhaps in consequence of it, the allies suffered a defeat. Twenty thousand men fell in the battle. Many chariots and much of the material of war were captured by the Assyrians. But still no conquest was effected. Shalmaneser does not assert that he either received submission or imposed a tribute; and the fact that he did not venture to renew the war for five years seems to show that the resistance which he had encountered made him hesitate about continuing the struggle.

Five years, however, having elapsed, and the power of Assyria being increased by her successes in Lower Mesopotamia,[9] Shalmaneser, in the eleventh year of his reign, advanced a second time against Hamath and the southern Hittites. Entering their territories unexpectedly, he was at first unopposed, and succeeded in taking a large number of their towns. But the troops of Ben-hadad soon appeared in the field. Phœnicia, apparently, stood aloof, and Hamath was occupied with her own difficulties; but Ben-hadad, having joined the Hittites, again gave Shalmaneser battle; and, though that monarch, as usual, claims the victory, it is evident that he gained no important advantage by his success. He had once more to return to his own land without having

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[8] The allied force is estimated by the Assyrian monarch at 1940 chariots, 1000 camels, and 77,900 men. Of these Ben-hadad furnished 20,000 men and 1200 chariots, Adoni-baal of Siana 20,000 men and 30 chariots, Ainab of Samhala (?) 10,000 men and 2000 chariots, Tsakhulena of Hamath 10,000 men and 700 chariots, and the king of Egypt 1000 men. The camels were furnished by Gindibua the Arabian.

[9] See above, p. 361.

extended his sway, and this time (as it would seem) without even any trophies of conquest.

Three years later, he made another desperate effort. Collecting his people "in multitudes that were not to be counted," he crossed the Euphrates with above a hundred thousand men.[1] Marching southwards he soon encountered a large army of the allies, Damascenes, Hamathites, Hittites, and perhaps Phœnicians;[2] the first-named still commanded by the undaunted Ben-hadad. This time the success of the Assyrians is beyond dispute. Not only were the allies put to flight, not only did they lose most of their chariots and implements of war, but they appear to have lost hope, and, formally or tacitly, to have forthwith dissolved their confederacy. The Hittites and Hamathites probably submitted to the conqueror; the Phœnicians withdrew to their own towns, and Damascus was left without allies, to defend herself as she best might, when the tide of conquest should once more flow in this direction.

In the fourth year the flow of the tide came. Shalmaneser, once more advancing southward, found the Syrians of Damascus strongly posted in the fastnesses of the Anti-Lebanon. Since his last invasion they had changed their ruler. The brave and experienced Ben-hadad had perished by the treachery of an ambitious subject,[3] and his assassin, the in-

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[1] He estimates his troops at 102,000. (*Black Obelisk Inscription*, p. 423.)

[2] The Hittites and the Phœnicians are probably both included in the "twelve kings from the shores of the Upper and Lower Seas," who are said to have joined Ben-hadad on this occasion. (*Inscription*, l. s. c.)

[3] See 2 Kings viii. 15. Attempts have been made to clear Hazael of this murder (Calmet, *Commentaire littéral*, vol. ii. p. 844; Cotton, in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, ad voc. BENHADAD), because it is thought that otherwise Elisha would be involved in his crime. But Elisha no more suggested murder to Hazael by

famous Hazael, held the throne. Left to his own resources by the dissolution of the old league, this monarch had exerted himself to the utmost in order to repel the attack which he knew was impending. He had collected a very large army, including above eleven hundred chariots, and, determined to leave nothing to chance, had carefully taken up a very strong position in the mountain range which separated his territory from the neighbouring kingdom of Hamath, or valley of Cœle-Syria. Here he was attacked by Shalmaneser, and completely defeated, with the loss of 16,000 of his troops, 1121 of his chariots, a quantity of his war material, and his camp. This blow apparently prostrated him; and when, three years later, Shalmaneser invaded his territory, Hazael brought no army into the field, but let his towns, one after another, be taken and plundered by the Assyrian.[4]

It was probably upon this last occasion, when the spirit of Damascus was cowed, and the Phœnician cities, trembling at the thought of their own rashness in having assisted Hazael and Ben-hadad, hastened to make their submission and to resume the rank of Assyrian tributaries, that the sovereign of another Syrian country, taking warning from the fate of his neighbours, determined to anticipate the subjection which he could not avoid, and, making a virtue of necessity, to place himself under the Assyrian yoke. Jehu, "son of Omri," as he is termed in

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telling him that he would be king than Samuel suggested a similar crime to David by actually anointing him as king (1 Sam. xvi. 1-13). Hazael might have acted as David did.

[4] *Inscription*, p. 424. The expression used is, "I went to the towns of Hazael of Damascus, and took part of his provisions." Immediately afterwards we read, "I received the tributes of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus."

the Inscription—*i.e.* successor and supposed descendant of the great Omri who built Samaria[5]—sent as tribute to Shalmaneser a quantity of gold and silver in bullion, together with a number of manufactured articles in the more precious of the two metals. In the sculptures which represent the Israelitish ambassadors presenting this tribute to the Great King,[6] these articles appear carried in the hands, or on the shoulders, of the envoys, but they are in general too indistinctly traced for us to pronounce with any confidence upon their character.

Israelites bringing tribute to Shalmaneser II. (Nimrud).

Shalmaneser had the same taste as his father for architecture and the other arts. He completed the *ziggurat* of the Great Temple of Nin at Calah, which

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[5] Samaria was known to the Assyrian monarchs of this period as Beth-Khumri—"the house or city of Omri"—a form of name with which they were familiar, and one which implied the existence at some previous time of a great king, Omri, the founder. Jehu, in his dealings with the Assyrians, seems to have represented himself to them as this man's "son" or "descendant." It is possible that his representation may have been true, and that he was descended from Omri, at least on the mother's side.

[6] Besides the representation here given, the woodcut on page 118 belongs to this series. It represents the chief ambassador of the Israelites prostrating himself before the Assyrian king.

his father had left unfinished, and not content with the palace of that monarch, built for himself a new and (probably) more magnificent residence on the same lofty platform, at the distance of about 150 yards.[7] This edifice was found by Mr. Layard in so ruined a condition, through the violence which it had suffered, apparently at the hands of Esar-haddon,[8] that it was impossible either to trace its plan or to form a very clear notion of its ornamentation.[9] Two gigantic winged bulls, partly destroyed, served to show that the grand portals of the chambers were similar in character and design to those of the earlier monarch, while from a number of sculptured fragments it was sufficiently plain that the walls had been adorned with bas-reliefs of the style used in Asshur-idanni-pal's edifice. The only difference observable was in the size and subjects of the sculptures, which seemed to have been on a grander scale and more generally mythological than those of the North-West palace.[10]

The monument of Shalmaneser which has attracted most attention in this country is an obelisk in black marble, similar in shape and general arrangement to that of Asshur-idanni-pal, already described, but of a handsomer and better material. This work of art was discovered in a prostrate position under the *débris* which covered up Shalmaneser's palace. It contained bas-reliefs in twenty compartments, five on each

[7] This is commonly known as the "Central Palace" of the Nimrud platform. It was discovered by Mr. Layard on his first expedition. (See *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. pp. 344-347.)

[8] It will be hereafter seen that Esar-haddon's palace at Nimrud—called by Mr. Layard the South-West edifice—was almost entirely composed of materials taken from the earlier buildings in its neighbourhood.

[9] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 656.

[10] Ibid. l. s. c. and note.

of its four sides; the space above, between, and below them being covered with cuneiform writing, sharply inscribed in a minute character. The whole was in most excellent preservation.[1] The bas-reliefs represent the monarch, accompanied by his vizier and other chief officers, receiving the tribute of five nations, whose envoys are ushered into the royal presence by officers of the court, and prostrate themselves at the Great King's feet ere they present their offerings. The gifts brought are, in part, objects carried in the hand—gold, silver, copper in bars and cubes, goblets, elephants' tusks, tissues, and the like — in part, animals, such as horses, camels, monkeys and baboons of different kinds, stags, lions, wild bulls, antelopes, and—strangest of all—the rhinoceros and the elephant. One of the nations, as already mentioned,[2] is that of the Israelites. The others are, first, the people of Kirzan, a country bordering on Armenia,[3] who present gold, silver, copper, horses, and camels, and fill the four highest compartments[4] with a train of nine envoys; secondly, the

[1] For a representation of this obelisk see vol. i. p. 333. It is on a somewhat smaller scale than that of Asshur-idanni-pal, being only about seven feet high, whereas that is more than twelve, and twenty-two inches wide on the broad face, whereas that is two feet. Its proportions make it more solid-looking and less taper than the earlier monument.

[2] See above, p. 365.

[3] Kirzan seems to be the country on the southern slopes of Mount Niphates, between the Bitlis and Myafarekin rivers. It retains its name almost unchanged to the present day. (See Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 37, where it is called "the district of Kherzan.")

[4] To read the sculptures of an Assyrian obelisk we must begin at the top with the four topmost compartments, which we must take in the order of their occurrence. We must then descend to the second line of compartments, then to the third, and so on, reading them in the same way. In the Black Obelisk the five lines of compartments correspond exactly to the five nations, except in a single instance. The figures in the bottom compartment of the first side seem not to belong to the fifth nation, nor (apparently) to the fourth, but either to the first or second. The envoys of the fifth nation are introduced by Assyrian officers in the bottom compartment of the *second* side.

Muzri, or people of Muzr, a country nearly in the same quarter,[5] who are represented in the four central compartments, with six envoys conducting various wild animals; thirdly, the Tsukhi, or Shuhites, from the Euphrates, to whom belong the four compartments below the Muzri, which are filled by a train of thirteen envoys, bringing two lions, a stag, and various precious articles, among which bars of metal, elephants' tusks, and shawls or tissues, are conspicuous; and lastly, the Patena, from the Orontes, who fill three of the lowest compartments with a train of twelve envoys bearing gifts like those of the Israelites.

Besides this interesting monument, there are very few remains of art which can be ascribed to Shalmaneser's time with any confidence.[6] The sculptures found on the site of his palace belonged to a later monarch,[7] who restored and embellished it. His own bas-reliefs were torn from their places by Esarhaddon, and by him defaced and used as materials in the construction of a new palace. We are thus left almost without materials for judging of the progress made by art during Shalmaneser's reign. Architecture, it may be conjectured, was modified to a certain extent, precious woods being employed more frequently and more largely than before; a fact of which we seem to have an indication in the frequent

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[5] Muzr is north-western Kurdistan, especially the district about Rowandiz and Amadiyeh. Bit-Sargina (Khorsabad) is always said to be "at the foot of the mountains of Muzr." The Muzri must have traded with India, probably by the line of the Caspian and the Oxus river.

[6] A stele of this monarch, closely resembling those of his father already mentioned (supra, p. 354), was brought from Kurkh in 1863, and is now in the British Museum. It is not inferior to the similar works of Asshur-idanni-pal; but it shows no advance upon them.

[7] This monarch was Tiglath-Pileser II., the monarch of that name mentioned in Scripture. (See below, p. 400.)

expeditions made by Shalmaneser into Syria, for the single purpose of cutting timber in its forests.[8] Sculpture, to judge from the obelisk, made no advance. The same formality, the same heaviness of outline, the same rigid adherence to the profile in all representations both of man and beast, characterise the reliefs of both reigns equally, so far as we have any means of judging.

Shalmaneser seems to have held his court ordinarily at Calah, where he built his palace and set up his obelisk; but sometimes he would reside for a time at Nineveh or at Asshur.[9] He does not appear to have built any important edifice at either of these two cities, but at the latter he left a monument which possesses some interest. This is the stone statue, now in a mutilated condition, representing a king seated, which was found by Mr. Layard at Kileh-Sherghat, and of which some notice was taken in the former volume.[10] Its proportions are better than those of the small statue of the monarch's father, standing in his sacrificial dress, which was found at Nimrud;[11] and it is superior to that work of art, in being of the size of life; but either its execution was originally very rude, or it must have suffered grievously by exposure, for it is now wholly rough and unpolished.

The later years of Shalmaneser appear to have been troubled by a dangerous rebellion.[12] The

[8] Shalmaneser made expeditions for this sole purpose in his first, his seventeenth, and his nineteenth years. (See *Inscription*, pp. 422-424.)

[9] See Shalmaneser's account of his proceedings during his fifth and twenty-sixth years. (*Inscription*, pp. 422, 425.)

[10] See vol. i. p. 423.

[11] Representations of these two statues are given on pages 423 and 424 of the first volume.

[12] The main features of this rebellion are given in an inscription on a stele set up by Shamas-Iva, Shalmaneser's son and successor.

infirmities of age were probably creeping upon him. He had ceased to go out with his armies; and had handed over a portion of his authority to the favourite general who was entrusted with the command of his forces year after year.[1] The favour thus shown may have provoked jealousy and even alarm. It may have been thought that the legitimate successor was imperilled by the exaltation of a subject, whose position would enable him to ingratiate himself with the troops, and who might be expected, on the death of his patron, to make an effort to place the crown on his own head. Fears of this kind may very probably have so worked on the mind of the heir-apparent as to determine him not to await his father's demise, but rather to raise the standard of revolt during his lifetime, and to endeavour, by an unexpected *coup-de-main*, to anticipate and ruin his rival. Or, possibly, Asshur-danin-pal, the eldest son of Shalmaneser, like too many royal youths, may have been impatient of the long life of his father, and have conceived the guilty desire, with which our fourth Henry is said to have taxed his first-born, a "hunger for the empty chair," of which the aged monarch[2] still held possession. At any rate, whatever may have been the motive that urged him on, it is certain that Asshur-danin-pal rebelled against his sire's authority, and, raising the standard of revolt, succeeded in carrying with him a great part of the kingdom. At Asshur, the old metropolis, which may have hoped to lure back

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This inscription has been translated by Sir H. Rawlinson, and will be found in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xvi., Annual Report, p. xii. et seq.

[1] Supra, p. 359.

[2] Shalmaneser may not have been more than about sixty at his death. But this is an age which Eastern monarchs, with their habits of life, rarely exceed. Only two kings of Judah after David exceeded sixty years of age.

the Court by its subservience, at Arbela in the Zab region, at Amidi on the Upper Tigris, at Tel-Apni near the site of Orfa, and at more than twenty other fortified places, Asshur-danin-pal was proclaimed king, and accepted by the inhabitants for their sovereign. Shalmaneser must have felt himself in imminent peril of losing his crown. Under these circumstances he called to his assistance his second son Shamas-Iva, and placing him at the head of such of his troops as remained firm to their allegiance, invested him with full power to act as he thought best in the existing emergency. Shamas-Iva at once took the field, attacked and reduced the rebellious cities one after another, and in a little time completely crushed the revolt, and re-established peace throughout the empire. Asshur-danin-pal, the arch-conspirator, was probably put to death; his life was justly forfeit; and neither Shamas-Iva nor his father is likely to have been withheld by any inconvenient tenderness from punishing treason in a near relative, as they would have punished it in any other person. The suppressor of the revolt became the heir of the kingdom; and when, shortly afterwards,[3] Shalmaneser died, the piety or prudence of his faithful son was rewarded by the rich inheritance of the Assyrian Empire.

Shalmaneser reigned, in all, thirty-five years, from B.C. 859 to B.C. 824. His successor, Shamas-Iva,

[3] Shalmaneser reigned 35 years. His annals terminate with his thirty-first year, B.C. 829. As they make no mention of Asshur-danin-pal's revolt, we may conclude that it broke out and was suppressed in the course of the monarch's last five years. He could not, therefore, have survived its suppression more than four years. It is worthy of remark that the Assyrian Canon marks the year B.C. 829, the 31st of Shalmaneser II., as the commencement of a new reign, though it does not give the name of the new monarch. From this we may fix almost with certainty the revolt of Asshur-danin-pal to that year. We cannot say how long the revolt lasted. Possibly it was not put down till B.C. 824.

held the throne for fourteen years, from B.C. 824 to B.C. 810. Before entering upon the consideration of this latter monarch's reign, it will be well to cast our eyes once more over the Assyrian Empire, such as it had now become, and over the nations with which its growth had brought it into contact. Considerable changes had occurred since the time of Tiglath-Pileser I., the Assyrian boundaries having been advanced in several directions, while either this progress, or the movements of races beyond the frontier, had brought into view many new and some very important nations.

The chief advance which the "Terminus" of the Assyrians had made was towards the west and the north-west. Instead of their dominion in this quarter being bounded by the Euphrates, they had established their authority over the whole of Upper Syria, over Phœnicia, Hamath, and Samaria, or the Kingdom of the Israelites. These countries were not indeed reduced to the form of provinces; on the contrary, they still retained their own laws, administration, and native princes; but they were henceforth really subject to Assyria, acknowledging her suzerainty, paying her an annual tribute, and giving a free passage to her armies through their territories. The limit of the Assyrian Empire towards the west was consequently at this time the Mediterranean, from the Gulf of Iskanderun to Cape Carmel, or perhaps we should say to Joppa.[4] Their north-western boundary was the range of Taurus next beyond Amanus, the tract between the two belonging to the Tibareni (Tubal), who had submitted to become tributaries.[5]

[4] That is, if we view the subjection of the kingdom of Israel as complete. Perhaps it was scarcely received as yet fully into the empire.

[5] See the *Black Obelisk Inscription*, p. 424.

Northwards little if any progress had been made. The chain of Niphates—"the high grounds over the affluents of the Tigris and Euphrates"—where Shalmaneser set up "an image of his majesty,"[6] seems still to be the furthest limit. In other words, Armenia is unconquered;[7] the strength of the region and the valour of its inhabitants still protecting it from the Assyrian arms. Towards the east some territory seems to have been gained, more especially in the central Zagros region, the district between the Lower Zab and Holwan, which at this period bore the name of Hupuska;[8] but the tribes north and south of this tract were still for the most part unsubdued.[9] The southern frontier may be regarded as wholly unchanged; for, although Shalmaneser warred in Babylonia, and even took tribute on one occasion from the petty kings of the Chaldæan towns, he seems to have made no permanent impression in this quarter. The Tsukhi or Shuhites are still the most southern of his subjects.[10]

The principal changes which time and conquest had made among the neighbours of Assyria were the following. Towards the west she was brought into contact with the kingdom of Damascus, and, through

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[6] Ibid. p. 423.

[7] This must be understood especially of Northern and Western Armenia. Shalmaneser, as we learn from the Kurkh Stele, reduced all the Van region, and set up his image on the shores of the lake.

[8] From Hupuska may have been formed the Greek name of Physcus, which was assigned to the Diyaleh by Sophænetus and Xenophon. (See Xen. *Anab.* ii. 25; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Φύσκος.)

[9] One important exception, however, must be noticed—the submission of the Muzri, the chief people of north-western Kurdistan. By this the Assyrian Empire was considerably extended to the north-east.

[10] In the selection of the five nations whose tributes are commemorated by the sculptures on the Black Obelisk there is an evident intention to exhibit the *extent* of the Empire. The Patena and Israelites mark the bounds on the north-west and south-west, the Muzri those on the north-east. The extreme north is marked by the people of Kirzan, the extreme south by the Tsukhi.

her tributary Samaria, with Judæa. On the north-west she had new enemies in the *Quïn*[11] (Coans?), who dwelt on the further side of Amanus, near the Tibareni, in a part of the country afterwards called Cilicia, and the Cilicians themselves, who are now first mentioned. The Moschi seem to have withdrawn a little from this neighbourhood, since they no longer appear either among Assyria's enemies or her tributaries. On the north all minor powers had disappeared; and the Armenians (*Urarda*) were now Assyria's sole neighbours. Towards the east she had come into contact with the *Mannai* or Minni, about Lake Urumiyeh, with the Kharkhar in the Van region and in north-western Kurdistan, with the Bartsu or Persians[1] and the Mada or Medes in the country east of Zagros, the modern province of Ardelan, and with the Tsimri, or Zimri,[2] in Upper Luristan. Among all her fresh enemies she had not, however, as yet found one calculated to inspire any serious fear. No new organized monarchy presented itself. The tribes and nations upon her borders were still either weak in numbers or powerless from their intestine divisions; and there was thus every reason to expect a long continuance of the success which had naturally attended a large centralized state in her contests with small kingdoms or loosely-united confederacies. Names celebrated in the after history of the world, as those of the Medes and the Persians, are now indeed for the first time emerging into light from the complete obscurity which has shrouded them

[11] This term may possibly correspond to the Hebrew גוים, *Goim*—the singular, which is *Quë* (Coé), answering to גוי, *Goï*.

[1] The Bartsu at this time inhabit south-eastern Armenia. By Sennacherib's time they had descended to a much more southerly position. In fact they are then in, or very near, Persia Proper.

[2] See Jerem. xxv. 25.

hitherto; and, tinged as they are with the radiance of their later glories, they show brightly among the many insignificant tribes and nations with which Assyria has been warring for centuries; but it would be a mistake to suppose that these names have any present importance in the narrative, or represent powers capable as yet of contending on equal terms with the Assyrian Empire, or even of seriously checking the progress of her successes. The Medes and Persians are at this period no more powerful than the Zimri, the Minni, the Urarda,[3] or than half-a-dozen others of the border nations, whose appellations sound strange in the ears even of the advanced student. Neither of the two great Arian peoples had as yet a capital city, neither was united under a king; separated into numerous tribes, each under its chief, dispersed in scattered towns and villages, poorly fortified or not fortified at all, they were in the same condition as the Naïri, the Qummukh, the Patena, the Hittites, and the other border races whose relative weakness Assyria had abundantly proved in a long course of wars wherein she had uniformly been the victor.

The short reign of Shamas-Iva presents but little that calls for remark. Like Shalmaneser II. he resided chiefly at Calah, where, following the example of his father and grandfather, he set up an obelisk (or rather a stele) in commemoration of his various exploits. This monument, which is covered on three sides with an inscription in the hieratic or cursive character,[4] contains an opening invocation to Nin or Hercules,

[3] This term is the Assyrian representation of the Biblical Ararat (אֲרָרָט), and is probably the original of the Ἀλαρόδιοι of Herodotus (iii. 94; vii. 79).

[4] This inscription has been engraved in the *British Museum Series*, Pls. 29 to 31; in which a transcript of the inscription in the ordinary character has been also published (ibid. Pls. 32 to 34).

conceived in the ordinary terms, the genealogy and titles of the king, an account of the rebellion of Asshur-danin-il, together with its suppression,[5] and Shamas-Iva's own annals for the first four years of his reign. From these we learn that he displayed the same active spirit as his two predecessors, carrying his arms against the Naïri on the north, against Media and Arazias on the east, and against Babylonia on the south. The people of Hupuska, the Minni, and the Persians (Bartsu), paid him tribute. His principal success was that of his fourth campaign, which was against Babylon. He entered the country by a route often used,[6] which skirted the Zagros mountain range for some distance, and then crossed the flat, probably along the course of the Diyaleh, to the southern capital. The Babylonians, alarmed at his advance, occupied a strongly fortified place on his line of route, which he besieged and took after a vigorous resistance, wherein the blood of the garrison was shed like water. Eighteen thousand were slain; three thousand were made prisoners; the city itself was plundered and burnt, and Shamas-Iva pressed forward against the flying enemy. Hereupon the Babylonian monarch, Merodach-belatzu-ikbi, collecting his own troops and those of his allies, the Chaldæans, the Aramæans or Syrians, and the Zimri—a vast host—met the invader on the river Daban[7]—per-

[5] See above, pp. 369-371.

[6] The first Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, attacked Assyria by this route in his first expedition. (Supra, p. 310.) It was also followed by Asshur-idanni-pal and Shalmaneser II. in their Babylonian wars. In the time of Herodotus it seems to have been the ordinary line by which travellers reached Babylon. (See Herod. v. 52, and compare the author's 'Outline of the Life of Herodotus' in his *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 9, note [1].)

[7] Sir H. Rawlinson regards the Daban as probably the Babylonian Upper Zab (or Nil), which left the Euphrates at Babylon and joined the Tigris at the site of Apamea, near the commencement of the Shat-el-Hie.

haps a branch of the Euphrates—and fought a great battle in defence of his city. He was, however, defeated by the Assyrians, with the loss of 5000 killed, 2000 prisoners, 100 chariots, 200 tents, and the royal standard and pavilion. What further military or political results the victory may have had is uncertain. Shamas-Iva's annals terminate abruptly at this point, and we are left to conjecture the consequences of the campaign and battle. It is possible that they were in the highest degree important; for we find, in the next reign, that Babylonia, which has so long been a separate and independent kingdom, is reduced to the condition of a tributary, while we have no account of its reduction by the succeeding monarch, whose relations with the Babylonians, so far as we know, were of a purely peaceful character.

The stele of Shamas-Iva contains one allusion to a hunting exploit, by which we learn that this monarch inherited his grandfather's partiality for the chase. He found wild-bulls at the foot of Zagros when he was marching to invade Babylonia, and delaying his advance to hunt them, was so fortunate as to kill several.

We know nothing of Shamas-Iva as a builder, and but little of him as a patron of art. He seems to have been content with the palaces of his father and grandfather, and to have been devoid of any wish to outshine them by raising edifices which should throw theirs into the shade. In his stele he shows no originality; for it is the mere re-production of a monument well known to his predecessors, and of which we have several specimens from the time of Asshur-idanni-pal downwards. It consists of a single figure in relief—a figure representing the king, dressed

in his priestly robes and wearing the sacred emblems round his neck, standing with the right arm upraised, and enclosed in the customary arched frame. This figure, which is somewhat larger than life, is cut on a single solid block of stone, and then placed on another broader block, which serves as a pedestal. It closely resembles the figure of Asshur-idanni-pal, whereof a representation has been already given.[8]

The successor of Shamas-Iva was his son Iva-lush, the fourth monarch of that name, who ascended the throne B.C. 810, and held it for twenty-nine years, from B.C. 810 to B.C. 781. The memorials which we possess of this king's reign are but scanty. They consist of one or two slabs found at Nimrud, of a short dedicatory inscription on duplicate statues of the God Nebo brought from the same place, and of some brick inscriptions from the mound of Nebbi Yunus. As none of these records are in the shape of annals, and as only those upon the slabs are even historical, it is impossible to give any detailed account of this long and apparently important reign. We can only mention certain isolated but pregnant facts from which it appears that Assyria was still growing in strength and influence, enlarging her bounds in more directions than one, and marching onwards steadily to the grand position which she occupied under the Sargonids. Iva-lush relates that he led an expedition into Syria and succeeded in making himself master of the great city of Damascus, whose kings had defied (as we have seen) the repeated attacks of the great Shalmaneser. He reckons as his tributaries in these parts, besides Damascus, the cities of Tyre

[8] See above, p. 354.

and Sidon, and the countries of Khumri or Samaria, of Palestine or Philistia, and of Hudum (Idumæa or Edom). On the north and east he received tokens of submission from the Naïri, the Minni, the Medes, and the Partsu, or Persians. On the south, he exercised a power, which seems like that of a sovereign, in Babylonia; where homage was paid him by the Chaldæans, and where, in the great cities of Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha (or Tiggaba), he was allowed to offer sacrifice to the gods, Bel, Nebo, and Nergal.[1] There is, further, some reason to suspect that, before quitting Babylonia, he established one of his sons as viceroy over the country; since he seems to style himself in one place "the king to whose son Asshur, the chief of the gods, has granted the kingdom of Babylon."

It thus appears that by the time of Iva-lush IV., or early in the eighth century B.C., Assyria had with one hand grasped Babylonia, while with the other she had laid hold of Philistia and Edom. She thus touched the Persian Gulf on the one side, while on the other she was brought into contact with Egypt. At the same time she had received the submission of at least some portion of the great nation of the Medes, who were now probably moving southwards from Azerbijan and gradually occupying the territory which was regarded as Media Proper by the Greeks and Romans. She held southern Armenia, from Lake Van to the sources of the Tigris; she possessed all upper Syria, including Commagêné and Amanus; she had tributaries even on the further

[1] An abstract of this Inscription of Iva-lush IV. was published by Sir H. Rawlinson in the year 1856, and will be found in the *Athenæum*, No. 1476. More recently Mr. Fox Talbot has translated the Inscription word for word. (See the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xix. pp. 182-186). The original has been published in the *British Museum Series*, Pl. 35, No. I.

side of that mountain-range; she bore sway over the whole Syrian coast from Issus to Gaza; her authority was acknowledged, probably by all the tribes and kingdoms between the coast and the desert,[2] certainly by the Phœnicians, the Hamathites, the Patena, the Hittites, the Syrians of Damascus, the people of Israel, and the Idumæans, or people of Edom. On the east she had reduced almost all the valleys of Zagros, and had tributaries in the great upland on the eastern side of the range. On the south, if she had not absorbed Babylonia, she had at least made her influence paramount there. The full height of her greatness was not attained till a century later; but already the "tall cedar" was "exalted above all the trees of the field; his boughs were multiplied; his branches had become long; and under his shadow dwelt great nations."[3]

Not much is known of Iva-lush IV. as a builder, or as a patron of art. He calls himself the "restorer of noble buildings which had gone to decay," an expression which would seem to imply that he aimed rather at maintaining former edifices in repair than

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[2] It is an interesting question at what time exactly Judæa first acknowledged the suzerainty of the Assyrians. The general supposition has been that the submission of Ahaz to Tiglath-Pileser II. (about B.C. 730) was the beginning of the subjection (see 2 K. xvi. 7); but a notice in the 14th chapter of the Second Book of Kings appears to imply a much earlier acknowledgment of Assyrian sovereignty. It is said there that "*as soon as the kingdom was confirmed in Amaziah's hand*, he slew the servants who had slain the king his father." Now this is the very expression used of Menahem, King of Israel, in ch. xv. 19, where the "confirmation" intended is evidently that of the Assyrian monarch. We may conclude, therefore, that Judæa had admitted the suzerainty of a foreign power before the accession of Amaziah; and, if so, it must be regarded as almost certain that the power which exercised the suzerainty was Assyria. Amaziah's accession fell probably towards the close of the reign of Shalmaneser II., and the submission of Judæa may therefore be assigned with much probability to the time of that monarch (ab. B.C. 840 or 850).

[3] Ezek. xxxi. 5, 6.

at constructing new ones. He seems however to have built some chambers on the mound of Nimrud, between the north-western and the south-western palaces, and also to have had a palace at Nineveh on the mound now called Nebbi Yunus. The Nimrud chambers were of small size and poorly ornamented; they contained no sculptures; the walls were plastered and then painted in fresco with a variety of patterns.[4] They may have been merely guard-rooms, since they appear to have formed a portion of a high tower.[5] The palace at Nebbi-Yunus was probably a more important work; but the superstitious regard of the natives for the supposed tomb of Jonah has hitherto frustrated all attempts made by Europeans to explore that mass of ruins.[6]

Among all the monuments recovered by recent researches, the only works of art assignable to the reign of Iva-lush are two rude statues of the god Nebo, almost exactly resembling one another.[7] From the representation of one of them, contained in the first volume of this work,[8] the reader will see that the figures in question have scarcely any artistic merit. The head is disproportionately large, the features, so far as they can be traced, are coarse and heavy, the arms and hands are poorly modelled, and the lower part is more like a pillar than the figure of

[4] The patterns were in fair taste. They consisted chiefly of winged bulls, zig-zags, arrangements of squares and circles, and the like. Mr. Layard calls them "elaborate and graceful in design." (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 15.)

[5] Ibid. p. 16.

[6] The Turks themselves at one time excavated to some extent in the Nebbi Yunus mound, and discovered buildings and relics of Iva-lush IV., of Sennacherib, and of Esar-haddon.

[7] Sir H. Rawlinson, who discovered these statues in a temple dedicated to Nebo by Iva-lush IV., which adjoined the S.E. palace at Nimrud, found with them six others. Of these four were colossal, while two resembled those in the Museum. The colossal statues were destitute of any inscription.

[8] Page 179.

a man. We cannot suppose that Assyrian art was incapable, under the fourth Iva-lush, of a higher flight than these statues indicate; we must therefore regard them as conventional forms, reproduced from old models, which the artist was bound to follow. It would seem, indeed, that while in the representation of animals and of men of inferior rank, Assyrian artists were untrammeled by precedent, and might aim at the highest possible perfection, in religious subjects, and in the representation of kings and nobles, they were limited, by law or custom, to certain ancient forms and modes of expression, which we find repeated from the earliest to the latest times, with monotonous uniformity.

If these statues, however, are valueless as works of art, they have yet a peculiar interest for the historian, as containing the only mention which the disentombed remains have furnished, of one of the most celebrated names of antiquity — a name which for many ages vindicated to itself a leading place, not only in the history of Assyria, but in that of the world.[1] To the Greeks and Romans Semiramis was the foremost of women, the greatest queen who had ever held a sceptre, the most extraordinary conqueror that the East had ever produced. Beautiful as Helen or Cleopatra, brave as Tomyris, lustful as Messalina, she had the virtues and vices of a man rather than a woman, and performed deeds scarcely inferior to those of Cyrus or Alexander the Great. It is an ungrateful task to

[1] The inscription on the statues showed that they were offered to Nebo by an officer, who was governor of Calah, Khamida (Amadiyeh), and three other places, for the life of Iva-lush and of his wife Sammuramit, that the god might lengthen the king's life, prolong his days, increase his years, and give peace to his house and people, and victory to his armies.

dispel illusions, more especially such as are at once harmless and venerable for their antiquity; but truth requires the historian to obliterate from the pages of the past this well-known image, and to substitute in its place a very dull and prosaic figure—a Semiramis no longer decked with the prismatic hues of fancy, but clothed instead in the sober garments of fact. The Nebo idols are dedicated, by the artist who executed them, "to his lord Iva-lush and his lady *Sammuramit*;"[2] from whence it would appear to be certain, in the first place, that that monarch was married to a princess who bore this world-renowned name, and, secondly, that she held a position superior to that which is usually allowed in the East to a Queen consort. An inveterate Oriental prejudice requires the rigid seclusion of women; and the Assyrian monuments, thoroughly in accord with the predominant tone of Eastern manners, throw a veil in general over all that concerns the weaker sex, neither representing to us the forms of the Assyrian women in the sculptures, nor so much as mentioning their existence in the inscriptions.[3] Very rarely is there an exception to this all but universal reticence. In the present instance, and in about two others, the silence usually kept is broken; and a native woman appears upon the scene to tantalize us by her momentary apparition. The glimpse that we here obtain does not reveal much. Beyond the fact that the principal queen of Iva-lush IV. was named Semiramis, and the further fact, implied in her being mentioned at all, that she had a recognised position of authority in the country, we can only conclude,

[2] See the Inscription in the *British Museum Series*, Pl. 35, No. II.
[3] See above, p. 106.

conjecturally, from the exact parallelism of the phrases used, that she bore sway conjointly with her husband, either over the whole or over a part of his dominions. Such a view explains, to some extent, the wonderful tale of the Ninian Semiramis, which was foisted into history by Ctesias; for it shows that he had a slight basis of fact to go upon. It also harmonizes, or may be made to harmonize, with the story of Semiramis as told by Herodotus, who says that she was a Babylonian queen, and reigned five generations before Nitocris,[4] or about B.C. 755.[5] For it is quite possible that the Sammuramit married to Iva-lush IV. was a Babylonian princess, the last descendant of a long line of kings, whom the Assyrian monarch wedded, to confirm through her his title to the southern provinces; in which case a portion of his subjects, and the sculptor was perhaps among the number, would regard her as their legitimate sovereign, and only recognise his authority as secondary and dependent upon hers. The exaggeration in which Orientals indulge, with a freedom that astonishes the sober nations of the West, would seize upon the unusual circumstance of a female having possessed an independent sovereignty, and would gradually group round the name a host of mythic details,[6]

[4] Herod. i. 184.

[5] This date is obtained by adopting the estimate of three generations to a century, which was familiar to Herodotus (ii. 142), and counting six generations between Semiramis and Labynetus (the supposed son of Nitocris) whose reign commenced B.C. 555, according to the Canon of Ptolemy. The date thus produced is not quite high enough for the reign of Iva-lush IV., but it approaches sufficiently near to make it probable that the Semiramis of Herodotus and the Sammuramit of the Nebo statues are one and the same person.

[6] See Diod. Sic. ii. 4, where Semiramis is made the daughter of the Syrian goddess Derceto, and ii. 20, where she is said to have been turned into a dove and to have flown away from earth to heaven. Compare Mos. Chor. *Hist. Armen.* i. 14 et seqq., and the whole narrative in Diodorus (ii. 4-20), which is full of extravagancies.

which at last accumulated to such an extent that, to prevent the fiction from becoming glaring, the queen had to be thrown back into mythic times, with which such details were in harmony. The Babylonian wife of Iva-lush IV., who gave him his title to the regions of the south, and reigned conjointly with him both in Babylonia and Assyria, became first a queen of Babylon ruling independently and alone;[1] and then an Assyrian empress, the conqueror of Egypt and Ethiopia,[2] the invader of the distant India,[3] the builder of Babylon,[4] and the constructor of all the great works which were anywhere to be found in Western Asia.[5] The grand figure thus produced imposed upon the uncritical ancients, and was accepted even by the moderns for many centuries. At length the school of Heeren[6] and Niebuhr,[7] calling common sense to their aid, pronounced the figure a myth. It remained for the patient explorers of the field of Assyrian antiquity in our own day to discover the slight basis of fact on which the myth was founded, and to substitute for the shadowy marvel of Ctesias a very prosaic and common-place princess, who, like Atossa or Elizabeth of York, strengthened her husband's title to his crown, but who never really made herself conspicuous either by great works or by exploits.

With Iva-lush IV. the glories of the Nimrud line of monarchs come to a close, and Assyrian history is once more shrouded in darkness for a space of nearly forty years, from B.C. 781 to B.C. 744. The

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[1] Herod. l. s. c.
[2] Diod. Sic. ii. 14.
[3] Ibid. ii. 18. [4] Ibid. ii. 7-10.
[5] Ibid. ii. 11, 13, 14, &c.; Mos. Choren. *Hist. Arm.* i. 15; Strab. xi. p. 529, xii. p. 559.
[6] *Manual of Ancient History*, Book i. p. 26, E. T.
[7] *Vorträge über alte Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 27.

Assyrian Canon shows us that three monarchs bore sway during this interval—Shalmaneser III., who reigned from B.C. 781 to B.C. 770, Asshur-danin-il II., who reigned from B.C. 770 to B.C. 752, and Asshur-lush, who held the throne from the last-mentioned date to B.C. 744, when he was succeeded by the second Tiglath-Pileser. The brevity of these reigns, which average only twelve years apiece, is indicative of troublous times, and of a disputed, or, at any rate, a disturbed succession. The fact that none of the three monarchs left buildings of any importance, or, so far as appears, memorials of any kind, marks a period of comparative decline, during which there was a pause in the magnificent course of Assyrian conquests, which had scarcely known a check for above a century.[8] The causes of the temporary inaction and apparent decline of a power which had so long been steadily advancing, would form an interesting subject of speculation to the political philosopher; but they are too obscure to be investigated here, where our space only allows us to touch rapidly on the chief known facts of the Assyrian history.

One important difficulty presents itself, at this point of the narrative, in an apparent contradiction between the native records of the Assyrians and the casual notices of their history contained in the Second Book of Kings. The Biblical Pul—the "king of Assyria," who came up against the land of Israel, and received from Menahem a thousand talents of silver, "that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand,"[9] is unnoticed in the native inscriptions, and even seems to be excluded from the

[8] From the accession of Asshur-idanni-pal to the death of Iva-lush IV. is above a century (103 years).

[9] 2 Kings xv. 19.

royal lists by the absence of any name at all resembling his in the proper place in the famous Canon.[10] Pul appears in Scripture to be the immediate predecessor of Tiglath-Pileser. At any rate, as his expedition against Menahem is followed within (at the utmost) thirty-two years[11] by an expedition of Tiglath-Pileser against Pekah, his last year (if he was indeed a king of Assyria) cannot have fallen earlier than thirty-two years before Tiglath-Pileser's first. In other words, if the Hebrew numbers are historical, some portion of Pul's reign must necessarily fall into the interval assigned by the Canon to the kings for which it is the sole authority—Shalmaneser III., Asshur-danin-il II., and Asshur-lush. But these names are so wholly unlike the name of Pul that no one of them can possibly be regarded as its equivalent, or even as the original from which it was corrupted. Thus the Assyrian records do not merely omit Pul, but exclude him; and we have to enquire how this can be accounted for, and who the Biblical Pul is, if he is not a regular and recognised Assyrian monarch.

Various explanations of the difficulty have been suggested. Some would regard Pul as a general of Tiglath-Pileser (or of some earlier Assyrian king),

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[10] Until the discovery of the Assyrian Canon had furnished us with three kings between Iva-lush IV. and Tiglath-Pileser II., thus separating their reigns by a space of 37 years, it was thought that Iva-lush IV. might possibly represent the Biblical Pul, the two names not being so very different. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 382.) The identification was never very satisfactory, for the phonetic value of all the three elements which make up the name read as Iva-lush, is very uncertain. Chronological considerations have now induced the advocates of the identity to give it up.

[11] The argument is here based upon the Scriptural numbers *only*. As Menahem reigned 10 years, Pekahiah 2 years, and Pekah 20, if Pul's expedition had fallen in Menahem's first year, and Tiglath-Pileser's in Pekah's last, they would have been separated at the utmost by a space of 32 years. We shall hereafter shew reasons for thinking that in fact they were separated by no longer an interval than 18 or 20 years.

mistaken by the Jews for the actual monarch. Others would identify him with Tiglath-Pileser himself.[12] But perhaps the most probable supposition is, that he was a pretender to the Assyrian crown, never acknowledged at Nineveh, but established in the western (and southern[13]) provinces so firmly, that he could venture to conduct an expedition into Lower Syria, and to claim there the fealty of Assyria's vassals. Or possibly he may have been a Babylonian monarch, who in the troublous times that had now evidently come upon the northern empire, possessed himself of the Euphrates valley, and thence descended upon Syria and Palestine. Berosus, it must be remembered, represented Pul as a Chaldæan king;[14] and the name itself, which is wholly alien to the ordinary Assyrian type,[15] has at least one counterpart among known Babylonian names.[16]

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[12] See the *Athenæum* for Aug. 22, 1863 (No. 1869, p. 245). The chief arguments for the identity are, 1. The fact that Scripture mentions Pul's taking tribute from Menahem, but says nothing of tribute being taken from him by Tiglath-Pileser, while the Assyrian monuments mention that Tiglath-Pileser took tribute from him, but say nothing of Pul. 2. The improbability (?) that two consecutive kings of Assyria could have pushed their conquests to the distant land of Judæa during the short reign of Menahem. 3. The way in which Pul and Tiglath-Pileser are coupled together in 2 Chron. v. 26, as if they were one and the same individual (?) or at any rate were acting together; and 4. The fact that in the Syriac and Arabic versions of this passage one name only is given instead of the two. To me these arguments do not appear to be of much weight. I think that neither the writer of Chronicles nor the writer of Kings could possibly have expressed themselves as they have, if they regarded Pul and Tiglath-Pileser as the same person.

[13] See the next note.

[14] See Euseb. *Chron. Can.* Pars 1ma. c. iv. "Post hos ait extitisse *Chaldæorum regem*, cui nomen Phulus erat." Eusebius makes the quotation from Polyhistor; but Polyhistor's authority beyond a doubt was Berosus. Pul therefore must have figured in the Babylonian annals, either as a native king, or as an Assyrian who had borne sway over Chaldæa.

[15] Assyrian names are always compounds. They consist of two, three, or more elements. The shortest are such as Sar-gon or Sar-gina, Bel-ip or Bel-ipni, and the like. It is difficult to make two elements out of Pul. There is, however, it must be granted, an Assyrian Eponym in the Canon, whose name is not very far from Pul, being Palaya, or Palluya (= "my son"). The same name was borne by a grandson of Merodach-Baladan.

[16] The "Porus" of Ptolemy's

The time of Pul's invasion may be fixed, by combining the Assyrian and the Hebrew chronologies, within very narrow limits. Tiglath-Pileser relates that he took tribute from Menahem in a war which lasted from his fourth to his eighth year, or from B.C. 741 to B.C. 737. As Menahem only reigned ten years, the earliest date that can be assigned to Pul's expedition will be B.C. 751,[17] while the latest possible date will be B.C. 745, the year before the accession of Tiglath-Pileser. In any case the expedition falls within the eight years assigned by the Assyrian Canon to the reign of Asshur-lush, Tiglath-Pileser's immediate predecessor.

It is remarkable that into this interval falls also the famous era of Nabonassar,[1] which must have marked some important change, dynastic or other, at Babylon. The nature of this change will be considered more at length in a future volume. At present it is sufficient to observe, that, in the declining condition of Assyria under the kings who followed Iva-lush IV., there was naturally a growth of power and independence among the border countries. Babylon, repenting of the submission which she had made either to Iva-lush IV., or to his father, Shamas-Iva, once more vindicated her right to freedom, and resumed the position of a separate and hostile monarchy.

Canon is a name closely resembling the "Phulus" of Polyhistor. The one would be in Hebrew פּוֹר, the other is פּוּל.

[17] According to Ussher (see the marginal dates in our Bibles) Menahem reigned from B.C. 771 to B.C. 761, or twenty years earlier than this. Clinton lowers the dates by two years (*F. H.* vol. i. p. 325). Nine more may be deducted by omitting the imaginary "interregnum" between Pekah and Hoshea, which is contradicted by 2 K. xv. 30. The discrepancy therefore between the Assyrian Canon and the Hebrew numbers at this point does not exceed ten years.

[1] B.C. 747. The near synchronism of Tiglath-Pileser's accession (B.C. 744) with this date is remarkable, resulting as it does simply from the numbers in the Assyrian Canon, without any artifice or manipulation whatsoever.

Samaria, Damascus, Judæa, ceased to pay tribute. Enterprising kings, like Jeroboam the Second and Menahem, taking advantage of Assyria's weakness, did not content themselves with merely throwing off her yoke, but proceeded to enlarge their dominions at the expense of her feudatories.[2] Judging of the unknown from the known, we may assume that on the north and east there were similar defections to those on the west and south—that the tribes of Armenia and of the Zagros range rose in revolt, and that the Assyrian boundaries were thus contracted in every quarter.[3]

It was probably during this time of depression,[4] when an unwarlike monarch was living in inglorious ease amid the luxuries and refinements of Nineveh, and the people, sunk in repose, gave themselves up to vicious indulgences more hateful in the eye of God than even the pride and cruelty which they were wont to exhibit in war, that the great capital was suddenly startled by a voice of warning in her streets—a voice which sounded everywhere through corridor, and lane, and square, bazaar and caravanserai, one shrill monotonous cry—"Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown."[5] A strange wild man, clothed in a rough garment of skin,[6] moving from place to place, announced to the inhabitants their doom. None knew who he was or whence he

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[2] See 2 Kings xiv. 25-28; xv. 16.

[3] This general defection and depression is stated somewhat over strongly by Herodotus (i. 95, 96).

[4] The date of Jonah's preaching to the Ninevites has been much disputed. It has been placed as early as 860 (see our Bibles), or from that to B.C. 840 (Drake), which would throw it into a most flourishing Assyrian period, the reign of Shalmaneser II. Others have observed that it may as well belong to the *latter part* of the reign of Jeroboam II. (Bailey), which would be about B.C. 780, according to the ordinary chronology, or about B.C. 760-750, according to the views of the present writer.

[5] Jonah iii. 4.

[6] This was the prophetic dress. (See 2 Kings i. 8 and Zech. xiii. 4.)

had come; none had ever beheld him before; pale, haggard, travel-stained, he moved before them like a visitant from another sphere; and his lips still framed the fearful words—"Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown." Had the cry fallen on them in the prosperous time, when each year brought its tale of victories, and every nation upon their borders trembled at the approach of their arms, it would probably have been heard with apathy or ridicule, and would have failed to move the heart of the nation. But coming, as it did, when their glory had declined; when their enemies, having been allowed a breathing space, had taken courage and were acting on the offensive in many quarters; when it was thus perhaps quite within the range of probability that some one of their numerous foes might shortly appear in arms before the place, it struck them with fear and consternation. The alarm communicated itself from the city to the palace; and his trembling attendants "came and told the king of Nineveh," who was seated on his royal throne in the great audience-chamber, surrounded by all the pomp and magnificence of his court. No sooner did he hear, than the heart of the king was touched, like that of his people; and he "arose from his throne, and laid aside his robe from him, and covered himself with sackcloth and sat in ashes."[7] Hastily summoning his nobles, he had a decree framed, and "caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh, by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste anything; let them not feed, nor drink water: but let man and beast[8] be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God: yea, let them

[7] Jonah iii. 6.

[8] On the custom of putting beasts in mourning, see above, p. 276, note [1].

turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands."[9] Then the fast was proclaimed, and the people of Nineveh, fearful of God's wrath, put on sackcloth "from the greatest of them even to the least of them."[10] The joy and merriment, the revelry and feasting of that great city were changed into mourning and lamentation; the sins that had provoked the anger of the Most High ceased; the people humbled themselves; they "turned from their evil way,"[11] and by a repentance, which, if not deep and enduring, was still real and unfeigned, they appeased for the present the Divine wrath. Vainly the prophet sate without the city, on its eastern side, under his booth woven of boughs,[12] watching, waiting, hoping (apparently) that the doom which he had announced would come, in spite of the people's repentance. God was more merciful than man. He had pity on the "great city," with its "six score thousand persons that could not discern between their right hand and their left,"[13] and, sparing the penitents, left their town to stand unharmed for more than another century.

The circumstances under which Tiglath-Pileser II. ascended the throne in the year B.C. 744 are unknown to us. No confidence can be placed in the statement of Bion[1] and Polyhistor,[2] which seems to have been intended to refer to this monarch, whom they called Belêtaras—a corruption of the latter half of the name[3]—that he was, previously to his elevation to

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[9] Jonah iii. verses 7 and 8.
[10] Ibid. verse 5.
[11] Ibid. verse 10.
[12] Ibid. iv. 5.
[13] Ibid. verse 11. On the meaning of the phrase see vol. i. pp. 314, 315.

[1] *Fr. Hist. Gr.* vol. iv. p. 351.
[2] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 210.
[3] The native form is *Pal-tsira*, or *Palli-tsir* (Oppert), whence Beletar, by a change of the initial *tenuis* into the *media*, and a hardening of the dental sibilant.

the royal dignity, a mere vine-dresser, whose occupation was to keep in order the gardens of the king. Similar tales of the low origin of self-raised and usurping monarchs are too common in the East, and are too often contradicted by the facts, when they become known to us,[4] for much credit to attach to the story told by these Roman writers, the earlier of whom must have written five or six hundred years after Tiglath-Pileser's time.[5] We might, however, conclude, without much chance of mistake, from such a story being told, that the king intended acquired the throne irregularly; that either he was not of the blood royal, or that, being so, he was at any rate not the legitimate heir. And the conclusion at which we should thus arrive is confirmed by the monarch's inscriptions; for, though he speaks repeatedly of "the kings his fathers," and even calls the royal buildings at Calah "the palaces of his fathers," yet he never mentions his actual father's name in any record that has come down to us. Such a silence is so contrary to the ordinary practice of Assyrian monarchs, who glory in their descent and parade it on every possible occasion, that, where it occurs, we are justified in concluding the monarch to have been an usurper, deriving his title to the crown not from his ancestry, or from any law of succession, but from a

[4] Compare the stories of Gyges, Cyrus, Amasis, &c. Gyges, the herdsman of Plato (*Rep.* ii. 3), and the guardsman of Herodotus (i. 8), appears in the narrative of Nicolaus Damascenus, who probably follows the native historian Xanthus, as a member of the noblest house in the kingdom next to that of the monarch (Nic. Dam. Fr. 49). Cyrus, son (according to Herodotus, i. 107) of an ordinary Persian noble, declares himself to have been the son of a "powerful king." (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 200, note [9], 2nd edit.) There are good grounds for believing that the low birth of Amasis is likewise a fiction. (Ibid. vol. ii. p. 222, note [7].)

[5] Bion's date is uncertain, but it probably was not much before B.C. 200. (See the remarks of C. Müller in the *Fr. Hist. Gr.* vol. iv. p. 347.)

successful revolution, in which he played the principal part. It matters little that such a monarch, when he is settled upon the throne, claims, in a vague and general way, connection with the kings of former times. The claim may often have a basis of truth; for in monarchies where polygamy prevails, and the kings have numerous daughters to dispose of, almost all the nobility can boast that they are of the blood royal. Where the claim is in no sense true, it will still be made; for it flatters the vanity of the monarch, and there is no one to gainsay it. Only in such cases we are sure to find a prudent vagueness—an assertion of the fact of the connection, expressed in general terms, without any specification of the particulars on which the supposed fact rests.

On obtaining the crown—whatever the circumstances under which he obtained it—Tiglath-Pileser immediately proceeded to attempt the restoration of the Empire by engaging in a series of wars, now upon one, now upon another frontier, seeking by his unwearied activity and energy to recover the losses suffered through the weakness of his predecessors, and to compensate for their laches by a vigorous discharge of all the duties of the kingly office. Unfortunately, though we possess an ample store of materials for this reign, they are in so disjointed and fragmentary a condition, that it is impossible to give the events in chronological order, or to date with any exactness more than a few of the chief occurrences.[6] We know the year of the Babylonian campaign, and we can approximate to the dates of the three Syrian wars; but with respect to the wars against the Medes, the tribes in Zagros, the Arme-

[6] See *Athenæum*, No. 1869, p. 245.

nians, and the nations of Northern Mesopotamia, we cannot fix even their order, much less arrange and tabulate them. Under these circumstances it is proposed to consider in detail only the Babylonian and Syrian expeditions, which alone possess any great interest, and to dismiss the others with a few general remarks on the results which were accomplished by them.

The expedition against Babylon was in the first year of Tiglath-Pileser's reign. No sooner did he find himself settled upon the throne, than he levied an army, and marched against Southern Mesopotamia,[7] which appears to have been in a divided and unsettled condition. According to the Canon of Ptolemy, Nabonassar then ruled in Babylon. We find by Tiglath-Pileser's annals, that the country on the sea-coast was under the dominion of Merodach-Baladan, who held his court in his father's city of Bit-Yakin;[8] while in the upper regions were a number of petty princes, apparently independent, among whom may be recognised names which seem to occur later in Ptolemy's list,[9] among the kings of Babylon to whom he assigns short reigns in the interval between Nabonassar and Mardocempalus (Merodach-Baladan). Tiglath-Pileser attacked and defeated several of these princes, taking the towns of Kur-Galazu (now

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[7] This fact is stated on a mutilated tablet belonging to Tiglath-Pileser's reign.

[8] Merodach-Baladan is called "the son of Yakin" in the Assyrian Inscriptions. His capital, Bit-Yakin, had apparently been built by, and named after, his father. Compare Bit-Omri (*i. e.* Samaria), Bit-Sargina, &c. It has been suggested that Yakin may be intended by Jugæus, if that be the true reading, in Ptolemy's Canon.

When Merodach-Baladan is called "the son of Baladan" in 2 Kings xx. 12 and Is. xxxix. 1, the reference is probably to a grandfather or other ancestor.

[9] As *Nadina*, who would seem to be Nadius; and *Zakiru*, who may possibly be Chinzirus.

Akkerkuf), and Sippara or Sepharvaim, together with many other places of less consequence in the lower portion of the country, after which he received the submission of Merodach-Baladan, who acknowledged him for suzerain, and consented to pay an annual tribute. Apparently, he did not come in contact with Nabonassar. Perhaps he was on friendly terms with that monarch; perhaps he did not wish to provoke the hostility of so powerful an adversary.

The first Syrian war of Tiglath-Pileser was probably undertaken in his fourth year (B.C. 741), and lasted from that year to his eighth. In the course of it he reduced to subjection Damascus, which had regained its independence,[10] and was under the government of Rezin; Samaria, where Menahem, the adversary of Pul, was still reigning; Tyre, which was under a monarch bearing the familiar name of Hiram;[11] and the Arabs bordering upon Egypt, who were ruled by a queen[12] called Khabiba. It would appear by this that he penetrated to the extreme south of Palestine, whither no Assyrian king but Iva-lush IV. had reached previously. But, it would seem, at the same time, that his conquests were very incomplete; they did not include Judæa or Philistia, Idumæa, or the tribes of the Hauran; and they left untouched the greater number of the Phœnician cities. It can cause, therefore, no surprise to

[10] See above, p. 378.

[11] Besides the great Hiram, the friend of Solomon, there is a Tyrian king of the name mentioned by Menander as contemporary with Cyrus (Fr. 2); and another occurs in Herodotus (vii. 98), who must have been contemporary with Darius Hystaspis.

[12] The Arabs of the tract bordering on Egypt seem to have been regularly governed by queens. Three such are mentioned in the Inscriptions. As these Arabs were near neighbours of the Sabæans, it is suggested that the queen of Sheba came from their country, which was in the neighbourhood of Sinai. (See *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. vii. New Series, p. 14.)

find that in a short time, probably about B.C. 733, Tiglath-Pileser renewed his efforts in this quarter, commencing by an attack on Samaria, where Pekah was now king, and taking "Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali, and carrying them captive to Assyria,"[13] thus "lightly afflicting the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali,"[1] or the more northern portion of the Holy Land, about Lake Merom, and from that to the Sea of Gennesareth.

This second war was followed shortly by a third, of greater importance than either of the others, which lasted for several years, probably from B.C. 732, or 731, to B.C. 728. It appears that the common danger, which had formerly united the Hittites, Hamathites, and Damascenes in a close alliance,[2] now caused a league to be formed between Damascus and Samaria, the sovereigns of which—Pekah and Rezin—made an attempt to add Judæa to their confederation, by declaring war against Ahaz, attacking his territory, and threatening to substitute in his place as king of Jerusalem a creature of their own, "the son of Tabeal."[3] Hard pressed by his enemies, Ahaz applied to Assyria, offering to become Tiglath-Pileser's "servant"—*i. e.*, his vassal and tributary—if he would send troops to his assistance, and save him from the impending danger.[4] Tiglath-Pileser was not slow to obey this call. Entering Syria at the head of an army, he fell first upon Damascus,

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[13] 2 Kings xv. 29.

[1] Isaiah ix. 1. This war is slightly alluded to in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser; but no details are given.

[2] See above, p. 361.

[3] Isaiah vii. 1-6. Comp. 2 Kings xvi. 5.

[4] 2 Kings xvi. 7.

where Rezin met him in battle, but was defeated and slain.[5] Next he attacked Pekah, entering his country on the north-east, where it bordered upon the Damascene territory, and, overrunning the whole of the Trans-Jordanic provinces, together (apparently) with some portion of the Cis-Jordanic region. The tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, who had possessed the country between the Jordan and the desert from the time of Moses, were seized and carried away captive by the conqueror, who placed them in Upper Mesopotamia, on the affluents of the Bilikh and the Khabour,[6] from about Harran to Nisibis.[7] Some cities situated on the right bank of the Jordan, in the territory of Issachar, but belonging to Manasseh, were at the same time seized and occupied. Among these Megiddo in the great plain of Esdraelon, and Dur or Dor upon the coast,[8] some way below Tyre, were the most important. Dur was even thought of sufficient consequence to receive an Assyrian governor at the same time with the other principal cities of Southern Syria.[9]

After thus chastising Samaria, Tiglath-Pileser appears to have passed on to the south, where he reduced

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[5] 2 Kings xvi. 9. There is an imperfect notice of the defeat and death of Rezin in a mutilated inscription now in the British Museum.

[6] 2 Chron. v. 26. That Tiglath-Pileser attacked Pekah twice seems to follow from the complete difference between the localities mentioned in 2 Kings xv. 29, and 2 Chron. v. 26. In Isaiah ix. 1 both expeditions seem to be glanced at.

[7] That the Gozan of Scripture was this country is apparent enough from Scripture itself, which joins it with Halah (Chalcitis of Ptolemy), Habor (the Khabour), Haran (Harran or Carrhæ), Rezeph, and Eden (Beth-Adini). It is confirmed by the Assyrian inscriptions, which connect Guzan with Nisibis.

[8] Megiddo and Dor are mentioned under the forms of *Magidu* and *Duru* among the Syrian cities tributary to Tiglath-Pileser. They are joined to a place called *Manatsuah*, which now for the first time appears in the lists, and which probably represents the land of Manasseh.

[9] The south-western limit of Assyria was now advanced to about lat. 32° 30′. Dur and Megiddo seem to have been her frontier towns.

the Arab tribes, who inhabited the Sinaitic desert as far as the borders of Egypt, and in lieu of their native queen set an Assyrian governor over them. He then returned towards Damascus, where he engaged in hostilities with a son of Rezin whose capital he attacked, took, and destroyed. Most of the neighbouring states and tribes appear, upon this, to have sent in their submission. Tiglath-Pileser, before quitting Syria, received submission and tribute not only from Ahaz, king of Judah, who went to pay him homage at Damascus,[10] but also from Mit'enna,[11] king of Tyre; Khanun, king of Gaza; and Mitinti, king of Ascalon; from the Moabites, the Ammonites, the people of Arvad or Aradus, and the Idumæans. He thus completely re-established the power of Assyria in this quarter,[12] once more recovering to the Empire the entire tract between the coast and the desert from Mount Amanus on the north to the Red Sea and the confines of Egypt.

Besides conducting these various campaigns, Tiglath-Pileser employed himself in the construction of some important works at Calah, which was his usual

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[10] 2 Kings xvi. 10. Tiglath-Pileser records his reception of tribute from a king of Judah, whom he calls *Yahu-khazi*, or Jehoahaz. It was at one time suggested that the monarch intended might be Uzziah, whose name would become Jehoahaz by a metathesis of the two elements; but the late date of the tribute-giving, which was certainly towards the close of Tiglath-Pileser's reign, renders this impossible. *Yahu-khazi* must represent Ahaz. It has been suggested that Jehoahaz was the monarch's real appellation, and that the Jews dropped the initial element because they were unwilling to profane the sacred name of Jehovah by connecting it with so wicked a monarch; but perhaps it is more probable that the name was changed by Tiglath-Pileser, when Ahaz became his tributary, just as the name of Eliakim was turned by Necho to Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiii. 34), and that of Mattaniah to Zedekiah by Nebuchadnezzar (ibid. xxiv. 17). His impieties may have prevented the Jews from recognising the change of name as legitimate, and made them still call him simply Ahaz.

[11] Compare the Matgenus (Μάτγηνος) of Menander, the father of Pygmalion and Dido (Fr. 1).

[12] See above, p. 380.

and favourite residence. He repaired and adorned the palace of Shalmaneser II., in the centre of the Nimrud mound; and he built a new edifice at the south-eastern corner of the platform, which seems to have been the most magnificent of his erections. Unfortunately, in neither case were his works allowed to remain as he left them. The sculptures with which he adorned Shalmaneser's palace were violently torn from their places by Esar-haddon, and, after barbarous ill-usage,[13] were applied to the embellishment of his own residence by that monarch. The palace, which he built at the south-eastern corner of the Nimrud mound, was first ruined by some invader, and then built upon by the last Assyrian king. Thus the monuments of Tiglath-Pileser II. come to us in a defaced and unsatisfactory condition, rendering it difficult for us to do full justice either to his architectural conceptions or to his taste in ornamentation. We can see, however, by the ground plan of the building which Mr. Loftus uncovered beneath the ruins of Mr. Layard's South-east palace,[14] that the great edifice of Tiglath-Pileser was on a scale of grandeur little inferior to that of the ancient palaces, and on a plan very nearly similar. The same arrangement of courts and halls and chambers, the same absence of curved lines or angles other than right angles, the same narrowness of rooms in comparison with their length, which have been noted in the earlier buildings,[15] prevailed also in those of this king. With regard to the sculptures with which, after the example of the former monarchs, he ornamented their walls,

[13] They were often partially destroyed, in order to reduce the size of the stone and make it fit into a given place in Esar-haddon's wall. (See Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, p. 14.)

[14] This plan is exhibited in the basement story of the British Museum.

[15] Supra, vol. i. pp. 353-356.

we can only say that they seem to have been characterised by simplicity of treatment—the absence of all ornamentation, except fringes, from the dresses, the total omission of backgrounds, and (with few exceptions) the limitation of the markings to the mere outlines of forms. The drawing is rather freer and more spirited than that of the sculptures of Asshur-idanni-pal; animal forms, as camels, oxen, sheep, and goats, are more largely introduced, and there is somewhat less formality in the handling.[1] But the change is in no respect very decided, or such as to indicate an era in the progress of art.

Tiglath-Pileser appears, by the Assyrian Canon, to have had a reign of eighteen years. He ascended the throne in B.C. 744, and was succeeded in B.C. 726 by a monarch, whose name is absent from the Canon, and has not yet been supplied by any cuneiform record. At this point, however, the Jewish history comes to our aid, and supplies the name of Shalmaneser—one well known among Assyrian royal titles[2]—as that of a monarch ruling exactly at this period, after Tiglath-Pileser, and before the capture of Samaria and captivity of the Samaritans. This king, it appears, was known and recognised as an Assyrian monarch not only by the Jews, but also by the Phœnicians and the Greeks, his name occurring in the Tyrian history of Menander of Ephesus, who made use of the national archives of Tyre.

It is uncertain whether Shalmaneser IV. was related to Tiglath-Pileser or not. As, however,

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[1] For representations of Tiglath-Pileser's sculptures, see Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Plates 57 to 67; and compare, in vol. i. of this work, the woodcut on p. 303, the second woodcut on p. 304, and the woodcuts on pp. 466 and 499.

[2] See above, pp. 303 and 357.

there is no trace of the succession having been irregular or disputed, it is most probable that he was his son. He must have ascended the throne in B.C. 726, and have ceased to reign in B.C. 721, thus holding the royal power for less than six years. It was probably very soon after his accession, that, suspecting the fidelity of Samaria, he "came up" against Hoshea, king of Israel, and, threatening him with condign punishment, so terrified him that he made immediate submission.[3] The arrears of tribute were rendered, and the homage due from a vassal to his lord was paid; and Shalmaneser either returned into his own country or turned his attention to other enterprises.[4] But shortly afterwards he learnt that Hoshea, in spite of his submission and engagements, was again contemplating defection; and, conscious of his own weakness, was endeavouring to obtain a promise of support from an enterprising monarch who ruled in the neighbouring country of Egypt.[5] The Assyrian conquests in this quarter had long been tending to bring them into collision with the great power of Eastern Africa, which had once held,[6] and always coveted,[7] the dominion of

[3] 2 Kings xvii. 3. "Against him came up Shalmaneser king of Assyria; and Hoshea became his servant and gave him presents," or "rendered him tribute" (marginal rendering).

[4] It was probably now that Shalmaneser made his general attack upon Phœnicia. (Infra, p. 405.)

[5] 2 Kings xvii. 4. "And the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea: for he had sent messengers to So king of Egypt, and brought no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year."

[6] Several kings of the 18th and 19th dynasties seem to have ruled over Syria, and even to have made war across the Euphrates in Western Mesopotamia. (See Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 302-305 and p. 311; and compare Sir H. Rawlinson's *Illustrations of Egyptian History*, published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. vii. New Series.)

[7] The invasions of Shishak (Sheshonk) and Zerah (Osorkon) show that the idea of annexing Syria continued even during a period of comparative depression.

Syria. Hitherto such relations as they had had with the Egyptians appear to have been friendly. The weak and unwarlike Pharaohs who about this time bore sway in Egypt had sought the favour of the growing Asiatic power by demanding Assyrian princesses in marriage and affecting Assyrian names for their offspring.[8] But recently an important change had occurred.[9] A brave Ethiopian prince had descended the valley of the Nile at the head of a swarthy host, had defeated the Egyptian levies, had driven the reigning monarch into the marshes of the Delta, or put him to a cruel death,[10] and had established his own dominion firmly, at any rate, over the upper country. Shebek the First bore sway in Memphis in lieu of the blind Bocchoris;[11] and Hoshea, seeing in this bold and enterprising king the natural foe of the Assyrians,[12] and therefore his own natural ally and friend, "sent messengers" with proposals, which appear to have been accepted; for on their return Hoshea revolted openly, withheld his tribute, and declared himself independent. Shalmaneser, upon this, came up against Samaria for the second time, determined now to punish his vassal's perfidy with due severity. Ap-

[8] Vide supra, p. 335.

[9] If we were obliged to follow Manetho's dates, as reported to us through Eusebius and Africanus, we should have to place the accession of the first Sabaco 22 or 24 years only before Tirhakah, B.C. 712 or 714. But the Apis *stelæ* have shown that Manetho's numbers are not to be trusted; and it is allowable therefore to assign to the two Ethiopian kings who preceded Tirhakah ordinary reigns of (say) 20 years each, which would bring the Ethiopian conquest to B.C. 730.

[10] Manetho stated that Bocchoris the Saite was burnt alive by Sabaco I. (Euseb. *Chr. Can.* i. p. 104.) Herodotus gave a different account (ii. 137-140).

[11] According to Herodotus, the native king whom Sabaco superseded (called by him Anysis) was blind. Diodorus calls Bocchoris τῷ σώματι παντελῶς εὐκαταφρόνητον, but does not specify any particular infirmity. (Diod. Sic. i. 65, § 1.)

[12] That the So, or rather Seveh (סוא), of 2 Kings xvii. 4, represents the Egyptian name Shebek is the general opinion of commentators. It is not perhaps quite certain, but it is highly probable.

parently, he was unresisted; at any rate, Hoshea fell into his power, and was seized, bound, and shut up in prison. A year or two later[13] Shalmaneser made his third and last expedition into Syria. What was the provocation given him, we are not told; but this time, he "came up *throughout all the land*,"[14] and, being met with resistance, he laid formal siege to the capital. The siege commenced in Shalmaneser's fourth year, B.C. 723, and was protracted to his sixth, either by the efforts of the Egyptians, or by the stubborn resistance of the inhabitants. At last, in B.C. 721, the town surrendered, or was taken by storm;[15] but before this consummation had been reached, Shalmaneser's reign would seem to have come to an end in consequence of a successful revolution.

While he was conducting these operations against Samaria, either in person or by means of his generals, Shalmaneser appears to have been also engaged in hostilities with the Phœnician towns. Like Samaria, they had revolted at the death of Tiglath-Pileser; and Shalmaneser, consequently, marched into Phœnicia at the beginning of his reign, probably in his first year, overran the entire country,[16] and forced all the cities to resume their position of dependence. The island Tyre, however, shortly afterwards shook off the yoke. Hereupon Shalmaneser "returned"[17] into these parts, and collecting a fleet from Sidon, Palæ-Tyrus, and Akko, the three most important of the Phœnician towns after Tyre, proceeded to the

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[13] It has not been generally seen that there is an interval of time between verses 4 and 5 of 2 Kings xvii.; yet this is sufficiently clear to an attentive reader.

[14] 2 Kings xvii. 4.

[15] So Josephus. Εἶλε κατὰ κράτος τὴν Σαμαρίαν. (*Ant. Jud.* ix. 13.)

[16] Ἐπῆλθε Φοινίκην πολεμῶν ἅπασαν. (Menand. Eph. ap. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* ix. 14.)

[17] Ὑπέστρεψε. (Ibid.)

attack of the revolted place. His vessels were sixty in number, and were manned by eight hundred Phœnician rowers, co-operating with, probably, a smaller number of unskilled Assyrians.[1] Against this fleet the Tyrians, confiding in their maritime skill, sent out a force of twelve vessels only, which proved, however, quite equal to the occasion; for the assailants were dispersed and driven off, with the loss of 500 prisoners. Shalmaneser, upon this defeat, retired, and gave up all active operations, contenting himself with leaving a body of troops on the mainland, over against the city, to cut off the Tyrians from the supplies of water, which they were in the habit of drawing from the river Litany, and from certain aqueducts which conducted the precious fluid from springs in the mountains. The Tyrians, it is said, held out against this pressure for five years, satisfying their thirst with rain water, which they collected in reservoirs. Whether they then submitted, or whether the attempt to subdue them was given up, is uncertain, since the quotation from Menander, which is our sole authority for this passage of history, here breaks off abruptly.[2]

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[1] Menander speaks of the Phœnicians as "*helping* to man the sixty ships" (συμπληρωσάντων αὐτῷ ναῦς ἑξήκοντα). It is uncertain how many rowers the Phœnician vessels of this time required. In Sargon's sculptures they are represented with only four or five rowers on each side; in Sennacherib's with eight, nine, or eleven, and also with two steersmen. Probably the latter representation is the more correct; and this would make the average number of rowers to be twenty. In that case each crew on this occasion would have been two-thirds Phœnician to one-third Assyrian.

[2] It has been usual to see in this Tyrian war of Shalmaneser's an expedition against Cyprus; and the author originally understood the passage in this sense (see his *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 234, note [8]). But he now thinks with Mr. Kenrick (*Phœnicia*, p. 379, note [1]), that, even if the present text of Josephus is correct, no Cyprian expedition is intended. At the same time he suspects that the words which cause the difficulty (Ἐπὶ τούτους πέμψας ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεύς) contain a wrong reading. He would propose to change τούτους into τοῦτον.

The short reign of Shalmaneser IV. was, it is evident, sufficiently occupied by the two enterprises, of which accounts have now been given—the complete subjugation of Samaria, and the attempt to reduce the island Tyre. Indeed, it is probable that neither enterprise had been concluded when a dynastic revolution, caused by the ambition of a subject, brought the unhappy monarch's reign to an untimely end. The conquest of Samaria is claimed by Sargon as an event of his first year; and the resistance of the Tyrians, if it really continued during the full space assigned to it by Menander, must have extended beyond the term of Shalmaneser's reign, into the second or third year of his successor.[3] It was probably the prolonged absence of the Assyrian monarch from his capital, caused by the obstinacy of the two cities which he was attacking, that encouraged a rival to come forward and seize the throne; just as in the Persian history we shall find the prolonged absence of Cambyses in Egypt produce a revolution and change of dynasty at Susa. In the East, where the monarch is not merely the chief but the sole power in the state, the moving spring whose action must be continually exerted to prevent the machinery of government from standing still, it is always dangerous for the reigning prince to be long away from his metropolis. The Orientals do not use the language of mere unmeaning compliment when they compare their sovereigns with the sun,[4] and speak of

[3] Shalmaneser's first attack on Phœnicia may be assigned to his first year. The revolt of the island Tyre, and his naval attack on it, cannot fall earlier, but may easily have fallen later, than his second year. The blockade of the fountains might possibly be established in the autumn of that year (B.C. 725), in which case the five years of resistance would terminate in the autumn of B.C. 720, which is Sargon's second year.

[4] This is the probable origin of the title Pharaoh, which is *Ph' Ra*,

them as imparting light and life to the country and people over which they rule. In the king's absence all languishes; the course of justice is suspended; public works are stopped; the expenditure of the Court, on which the prosperity of the capital mainly depends, being withdrawn, trade stagnates, the highest branches suffering most; artists are left without employment; workmen are discharged; wages fall; every industry is more or less deranged, and those engaged in it suffer accordingly; nor is there any hope of a return of prosperity until the king comes home. Under these circumstances a general discontent prevails; and the people, anxious for better times, are ready to welcome any pretender who will come forward, and, on any pretext whatever, declare the throne vacant, and claim to be its proper occupant. If Shalmaneser continued to direct in person the siege of Samaria during the three years of its continuance, we cannot be surprised that the patience of the Ninevites was exhausted, and that in the third year they accepted the rule of the usurper who boldly proclaimed himself king.

What right the new monarch put forward, what position he had previously held, what special circumstances, beyond the mere absence of the rightful king, facilitated his attempt, are matters on which the monuments throw no light, and on which we must therefore be content to be ignorant. All that we can see is, that either personal merit or official rank and position, must have enabled him to establish himself; for he certainly did not derive any assistance from his birth, which must have been mediocre, if not actu-

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"the Sun." Among the common titles of Oriental sovereigns are "the light of the Universe," "the brother of the Sun and Moon," and the like.

ally obscure. It is the custom of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings to glory in their ancestry, and when the father has occupied a decently high position, the son declares his sire's name and rank at the commencement of each inscription ;[5] but Sargon never, in any record, names his father, nor makes the slightest allusion to his birth and descent, unless it be in vague phrases, wherein he calls the former kings of Assyria, and even those of Babylonia, his ancestors.[6] Such expressions seem to be mere words of course, having no historical value ; and it would be a mistake even to conclude from them that the new king intended seriously to claim the connection of kindred with the monarchs of former times.

It would appear, indeed, that Sargon, instead of cloaking his usurpation under some decent plea of right, took a pride in boldly avowing it. The name Sargon is one which he could scarcely have borne as a subject. He must have adopted it as his royal title at the time of his establishment upon the throne, intending by the adoption to make it generally known that he had acquired the crown, not by birth or just claim, but by his own will and the consent of the people. Sargon, or Sar-gina, as the native name is read,[7] means "the king *de facto*," or "the established king," and (as has been well observed) "shows the usurper."[1] It is a name wholly unlike any other in the entire list of Assyrian monarchs,[2] and marks the

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[5] Nabonidus always styles himself "the son of Nebo belatzu-ikbi, the Rab-Mag."

[6] See Oppert, *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 31.

[7] M. Oppert seems now to prefer the form *Sarkin*. (*Inscriptions*, pp. 8 and 38.)

[1] "Sargon (*Sar-kin*) veut dire, *roi de fait*, et indique l'usurpateur." (Oppert, *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 8.)

[2] The religious character of the Assyrian royal names has been already repeatedly noticed. (Supra, pp. 242, 251, 254, &c.) They consist

bold spirit of the man, which scorned all the usual subterfuges whereby it was customary to give an air of legitimacy to dynastic changes, however brought about. Apparently he felt himself too firmly seated upon the throne to need the adventitious aids, of which weaker and more timid usurpers gladly availed themselves, to strengthen and establish their sovereignty.

But however confident in his ability to repress revolt, and maintain himself upon the throne against any pretender who might venture to question his claims, Sargon was too wise to neglect the best means of confirming a doubtful title to the leadership of a warlike nation. No sooner was he accepted by the Ninevites as king than he commenced a series of expeditions, which at once furnished employment to unquiet spirits, and gave the prestige of military glory to his own name. He warred successively in Susiana, in Syria, on the borders of Egypt, in the tract beyond Amanus, in Melitêné and Southern Armenia, in Kurdistan, in Media, and in Babylonia. During the first fifteen years of his reign, the space which his annals cover,[3] he kept his subjects employed in a continual series of important expeditions, never giving himself, nor allowing them, a single year of repose. Immediately upon his accession he marched into Susiana, where he defeated Humbanigas, the Elamitic king, and received the sub-

almost universally of two or three elements, forming a short sentence, and including the name or designation of a god. (See Appendix A, "On the Assyrian Royal Names.") At the same time it must be allowed that Sargina was an old royal name in the lower country, where there was an ancient city called Dur-Sargina (mentioned on Michaux' stone), which must have been built by a king (or prince) Sargon.

[3] This is the usual estimate. M. Oppert regards the annals as covering *sixteen* years, from B.C. 721 to B.C. 706, inclusively.

mission of the Chaldæans; who seem, however, in the same year to have thrown off his yoke, and to have placed themselves under the government of the native prince, Merodach-Baladan, the adversary of Tiglath-Pileser in B.C. 744.[4] From Susiana, on the extreme south-east of his borders, Sargon marched away to the extreme south-west, and completed the reduction of Samaria, which Shalmaneser had been unable to accomplish. Depriving the city of the qualified independence which it had enjoyed hitherto, he appointed an Assyrian officer to be its governor, further punishing it by carrying off as slaves 27,280 of the inhabitants, but contenting himself with re-imposing on the remainder the rate of tribute to which the town had been liable before its revolt.[5] Successful in this enterprise, the conqueror returned to Assyria with his captives, but was almost immediately recalled to the scene of his recent victories by an important revolt. Yahu-bid (or Ilu-bid), king of Hamath—a usurper, like Sargon himself—had rebelled, and had persuaded the cities of Arpad, Zimira,[6] Damascus, and Samaria, to cast in their lot with his, and to form a confederacy, by which it was imagined that an effectual resistance might be offered to the Assyrian arms. Not content merely to stand on the defensive in their several towns, the allies

[4] Supra, p. 395.

[5] Sargon seems not to have effected the deportation of the Samaritans at once. Apparently he acted towards them as Sennacherib intended to act towards the Jews of Jerusalem. (2 Kings xviii. 31, 32. "Thus saith the king of Assyria, Make an agreement with me by a present, and come out to me, and then eat ye every man of his own vine, and every one of his fig-tree, and drink ye every one the waters of his cistern, *until I come to take you away* to a land like your own land," &c.)

[6] The Simyra of the classical geographers, which was near Marathus (Plin. *H. N.* v. 20; Mela, i. 12; &c.). The city is not mentioned in Scripture; but we hear in Genesis (x. 16) of the "Zemarites," in conjunction with the Hamathites and Arvadites.

took the field; and a battle was fought at Karkar or Gargar (perhaps one of the many Aroers[7]), where the superiority of the Assyrian troops was once more proved, and Sargon gained a complete victory over his enemies. Yahu-bid himself was taken and beheaded; and the chiefs of the revolt in the other towns were also put to death.

Having thus crushed the rebellion and re-established tranquillity throughout Syria, Sargon turned his arms towards the extreme south, and attacked Gaza, which was a dependency of Egypt. The exact condition of Egypt at this time is open to some doubt. According to Manetho's numbers, the twenty-fifth or Ethiopian dynasty had not yet begun to reign.[8] Bocchoris the Saite occupied the throne, a humane but weak prince, of a contemptible presence, and perhaps afflicted with blindness.[9] No doubt such a prince would tempt the attack of a powerful neighbour; and, so far, probability might seem to be in favour of the Manethonian dates. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that Egypt had lately taken an aggressive attitude, incompatible with a time of weakness; she had intermeddled between the Assyrian crown and its vassals, by entering into a league with Hoshea; and she had extended her dominion over a portion of Philistia,[10]

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[7] The Hebrew literation of Aroer is ערער, which is very likely to be represented by Gargar, since the Hebrew *ain* is very nearly a *g*. On the position of the various Aroers, see Mr. Grove's article in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 115.

[8] Manetho placed the accession of the Ethiopian dynasty 191 or 193 years before the invasion of Cambyses, *i. e.* in B.C. 716 or 718.

[9] Supra, p. 403, note [11]. Bocchoris, according to Manetho, reigned either six or forty-four years!

[10] Philistia had submitted to Iva-lush IV. (supra, p. 378), and probably to Tiglath-Pileser II. (p. 399). The extension of Egyptian influence over the country is perhaps glanced at in the prophecy of Isaiah:—"In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Ca-

thereby provoking a collision with the Great Power of the East. Again, it is worthy of note that the name of the Pharaoh who had dealings with Hoshea, if it does not seem at first sight very closely to resemble the Egyptian Shebek, is, at any rate, a possible representative of that word,[11] while no etymological skill can force it into agreement with any other name in this portion of the Egyptian lists. Further, it is to be remarked, that, at this point of the Assyrian annals, a Shebek appears in them,[12] holding a position of great authority in Egypt, though not dignified with the title of king. These facts furnish strong grounds for believing that the Manethonian chronology, which can be proved to be in many points incorrect,[13] has placed the accession of the Ethiopians somewhat too late, and that that event occurred really as early as B.C. 725 or B.C. 730.

At the same time, it must be allowed, that all difficulty is not removed by this supposition. The Shebek (*Sibahé*) of the Assyrian record bears an inferior title, and not that of king.[1] He is also,

naan." The "five cities" of the Philistines were Ashdod, Gaza, Ascalon, Gath, and Ekron. (See Josh. xiii. 3; and 1 Sam. vi. 17.)

[11] Supra, p. 403, note [12].

[12] See Oppert, *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 22; and compare Sir H. Rawlinson in the *Athenæum*, No. 1869, p. 247, note 28; and Dr. Hincks in the same journal, No. 1878, p. 534.

[13] Manetho assigned to Neco six years only, whereas it is certain that he reigned sixteen. He interposed three kings, whose reigns covered a space of twenty-one years, between Tirhakah and Psammetichus, whereas the monuments show that Psammetichus followed Tirhakah immediately. Again, he gave Tirhakah eighteen years, whereas the monuments give him twenty-six. His numbers may have been falsified; but certainly, *as they come to us*, no dependance can be placed on them. (See M. de Rougé's *Notice Sommaire des Monuments Egyptiens du Musée du Louvre*. Paris, 1855.)

[1] The title borne by Shebek is read as *Tar-danu* by Sir H. Rawlinson, and explained as honorific, signifying "the high in rank." M. Oppert reads it as *Sil-tan*, and compares the Hebrew *shilton* (שִׁלְטוֹן), "power," and the Arabic *Sultan*. In either case the title is a subordinate one, occurring in an Assyrian list of offices *after* that of Tartan.

apparently, contemporary with another authority in Egypt, who is recognized by Sargon as the true "Pharaoh," or native ruler.[2] Further, it is not till eight or nine years later that any mention is made of Ethiopia as having an authority over Egypt, or as in any way brought into contact with Sargon. The proper conclusion from these facts seems to be, that the Ethiopians established themselves gradually; that in B.C. 719, Shebek or Sabaco, though master of a portion of Egypt, had not assumed the royal title, which was still borne by a native prince of little power—Bocchoris, or Sethos—who held his court somewhere in the Delta; and that it was not till about the year B.C. 712 that this shadowy kingdom passed away, that the Ethiopian rule was extended over the whole of Egypt, and that Sabaco assumed the full rank of independent monarch.

If this be the true solution of the difficulty which has here presented itself, we must conclude that the first actual collision between the powers of Egypt and Assyria took place at a time very unfavourable to the former. Egypt was, in fact, divided against itself, the fertile tract of the Delta being under one king, the long valley of the Nile under another. If war was not actually going on, jealousy and suspicion, at any rate, must have held the two sovereigns apart; and the Assyrian monarch, coming at such a time of intestine feud, must have found it comparatively easy to gain a triumph in this quarter.

The armies of the two great powers met at the

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[2] That Shebek the *Tar-dan* or *Siltan* is not the Pharaoh who gave the tribute is evident from the great Chamber Inscription of Khorsabad, where the two names stand contrasted in two consecutive paragraphs. (Oppert, *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 22.)

city of Rapikh, which seems to be the Raphia of the Greeks and Romans,[3] and consequently the modern *Refah*—a position upon the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, about halfway between Gaza and the Wady-el-Arish or "River of Egypt." Here the forces of the Philistines, under Khanun, king of Gaza, and those of Shebek, the Tar-dan (or perhaps the Sultan[4]) of Egypt, had effected a junction, and awaited the approach of the invader. Sargon, having arrived, immediately engaged the allied army, and succeeded in defeating it completely, capturing Khanun, and forcing Shebek to seek safety in flight. Khanun was deprived of his crown and carried off to Assyria by the conqueror.[5]

Such was the result of the first combat between the two great powers of Asia and of Africa. It was an omen of the future, though it was scarcely a fair trial of strength. The battle of Raphia foreshadowed truly enough the position which Egypt would hold among the nations from the time that she ceased to be isolated, and was forced to enter into the struggle for pre-eminence, and even for existence, with the great kingdoms of the neighbouring continent. With rare and brief exceptions, Egypt has from the time of Sargon succumbed to the superior might of whatever power has been dominant in Western Asia, owning it for lord, and submitting, with a good or a bad grace, to a position involving a greater or less degree of dependence. Tributary to the later Assyrian princes, and again, probably, to Nebuchadnezzar,

[3] The position of Raphia is well marked in Polybius, who places it between Rhinocolura and Gaza (v. 80, § 3). It was the scene of a great battle between Ptolemy Philopator and Antiochus the Great, B.C. 217. Pliny calls it Raphea. (*H. N.* v. 13.)

[4] See above, p. 412, note [1].

[5] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 36.

she had scarcely recovered her independence when she fell under the dominion of Persia. Never successful, notwithstanding all her struggles, in thoroughly shaking off this hated yoke, she did but exchange her Persian for Greek masters, when the Empire of Cyrus perished. Since then, Greeks, Romans, Saracens, and Turks have, each in their turn, been masters of the Egyptian race, which has paid the usual penalty of precocity in the early exhaustion of its powers.

After the victories of Aroer and Raphia, the Assyrian monarch appears to have been engaged for some years in wars of comparatively slight interest towards the north and the north-east. It was not till B.C. 715 or 714, five or six years after his first fight with the Egyptians, that he again made an expedition towards the south-west, and so came once more into contact with nations to whose fortunes we are not wholly indifferent. His chief efforts on this occasion were directed against the peninsula of Arabia. The wandering tribes of the desert, tempted by the weak condition to which the Assyrian conquest had reduced Samaria, made raids, it appears, into the territory at their pleasure, and carried off plunder. Sargon determined to chastise these predatory bands, and made an expedition into the interior, where "he subdued the uncultivated plains of the remote Arabia, which had never before given tribute to Assyria," and brought under subjection the Thamudites,[6] and several other Arab tribes, carrying off a certain number and settling them in Samaria itself, which thence-

[6] The Thamudites are a well-known Arabian tribe, belonging anciently to the central portion of the peninsula. They occupied seats to the south of Arabia Petræa in the time of Ptolemy. (*Geograph.* vi. 7.)

forth contained an Arab element in its population.[7] Such an effect was produced on the surrounding nations by the success of this inroad, that their princes hastened to propitiate Sargon's favour by sending embassies, and accepting the position of Assyrian tributaries. The reigning Pharaoh, whoever he may have been, It-hamar king of the Sabæans, and Tsamsi[1] queen of the Arabs, thus humbled themselves, sending presents,[2] and probably entering into engagements which bound them for the future.

About three years later Sargon led a third expedition into these parts, regarding it as important to punish the misconduct of the people of Ashdod. Ashdod had probably submitted after the battle of Raphia, and had been allowed to retain its native prince, Azuri. This prince, after a while, revolted, withheld his tribute, and proceeded to foment rebellion against Assyria among the neighbouring monarchs; whereupon Sargon deposed him, and made his brother Akhimit king in his place. The people of Ashdod, however, rejected the authority of Akhimit, and chose a certain Yaman, or Yavan, to rule over them. Immediately upon learning this, Sargon, without waiting to assemble his army, proceeded with a light force to Ashdod to punish the rebels; but, before his arrival, Yaman had fled away, and "escaped to the dependencies of Egypt, which" (it is said) "were under the rule of Ethiopia."[3] Ashdod itself, trusting

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[7] Compare Nehem. ii. 19 and iv. 7.

[1] Tsamsi appears to have been the successor of Khabiba (supra, p. 396).

[2] These presents were gold, spices (?), horses, and camels. The Egyptian horses were much prized, and were carefully preserved by Sargon in the royal stables at Nineveh.

[3] M. Oppert understands the passage somewhat differently. He translates, "Yaman apprit de loin l'approche de mon expédition; il s'enfuit *au delà* de l'Egypte, *du côté* de Méroé." (*Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 27.)

in the strength from which it derived its name,[4] resisted; but Sargon laid siege to it, and in a little time forced it to surrender.[5] Yaman's wife and children were captured, and, together with the bulk of the inhabitants, were transported into Assyria, while their place was supplied by a number of persons who had been made prisoners in Sargon's eastern wars. An Assyrian governor was set over the place.

The submission of Ethiopia followed.[6] Ashdod, like Samaria, had probably been encouraged to revolt by promises of foreign aid. Sargon's old antagonist, Shebek, had recently brought the whole of Egypt under his authority, and perhaps thought the time had come when he might venture once more to measure his strength against the Assyrians. But Sargon's rapid movements and easy capture of the strong Ashdod terrified him, and produced a change of his intentions. Instead of marching into Philistia and fighting a battle, he sent a suppliant embassy deprecating Sargon's wrath. The Assyrian monarch boasts that the king of Meroë, who dwelt in the desert, and had never sent ambassadors to any of the kings his predecessors, was led by the fear of his majesty to direct his steps towards Assyria and humbly bow down before him.

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[4] The name Ashdod (אַשְׁדּוֹד) is probably derived from the root שׁד, "strong," which appears in שַׁדַּי and שָׁדֹד. *Shedeed* is "strong" in Arabic.

[5] It is perhaps this capture of Ashdod of which Isaiah speaks—"In the year that Tartan came unto Ashdod (when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him), and fought against Ashdod, and took it; at the same time spake the Lord by Isaiah," &c. (xx. 1, 2). For it is possible that Sargon may claim as his own act what was really effected by a general. But perhaps it is most probable that the capture by the Tartan or general was the earlier one, when Azuri's revolt was put down, and Akhimit was made king in his place.

[6] I follow M. Oppert here. Sir H. Rawlinson doubts whether the king whose submission followed on that of Ashdod was really the king of Meroë or Ethiopia. The passage is mutilated; and Meroë (Milukha) is a conjectural restoration.

At the opposite extremity of his Empire, Sargon soon afterwards gained victories which were of equal or greater importance. A disputed succession gave him an opportunity of interference in Illib, a small country bordering on Susiana. Nibi, one of the two pretenders to the throne, had applied for aid to Sutruk-Nakhunta, king of Elam, who held his court at Susa,[7] and had received the promise of his favour and protection. Upon this, the other claimant, who was named Ispabara, made application to Sargon, and was readily received into alliance. Sargon sent to his assistance "seven captains with seven armies," who engaged the troops of Sutruk-Nakhunta, defeated them, and established Ispabara upon the throne.[8]

This war was followed by a great expedition against Babylon. Merodach-Baladan had now been twelve years in quiet possession of the kingdom.[9] He had established his court at Babylon, and, suspecting that the ambition of Sargon would lead him to attempt the conquest of the south, he had made preparations for resistance by entering into close alliance with the Susianians, on the one hand, and with the Aramæan tribes above Babylonia, on the other. Still, when Sargon advanced against him, instead of giving him battle, or even awaiting him behind the walls of the capital, he at once took to flight. Leaving garrisons in the more important of the inland towns, and

[7] Sutruk-Nakhunta's inscriptions have been found on the great mound of Susa. (Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 363, note [4], 2nd ed.)

[8] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, pp. 26, 27.

[9] Ibid. p. 28. It is this statement, joined with the fact that the expedition took place in Sargon's 12th year, that enables us definitely to fix the accession of Sargon to B.C. 721, which is the first year of Merodach-Baladan (Mardocempalus) in the Canon of Ptolemy.

committing their defence to his generals, he himself hastened down to his own city of Beth-Yakin,[10] which was on the Euphrates, near its mouth, and, summoning the Aramæans to his assistance,[11] prepared for a vigorous resistance in the immediate vicinity of his native place. Posting himself in the plain in front of the city, and, protecting his front and left flank with a deep ditch, which he filled with water from the Euphrates, he awaited the advance of Sargon, who soon appeared at the head of his troops, and lost no time in beginning the attack. We cannot follow with any precision the exact operations of the battle, but it appears that Sargon fell upon the Babylonian troops, defeated them, and drove them into their own dyke, in which many of them were drowned, at the same time separating them from their allies, who, on seeing the disaster, took to flight, and succeeded in making their escape. Merodach-Baladan, abandoning his camp, threw himself with the poor remains of his army into Beth-Yakin, which Sargon then besieged and took. The Babylonian monarch fell into the hands of his rival, who plundered his palace and burnt his city, but generously spared his life. He was not, however, allowed to retain his kingdom, which was placed under an Assyrian viceroy, probably the Arceanus of Ptolemy's Canon.[1]

The submission of Babylonia was followed by the

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[10] See above, p. 395, note [8].

[11] The tribes summoned were the *Gambulu*, the *Bukudu* or *Pukudu* (perhaps the Pekod of the Jewish prophets, Jer. l. 21; Ezek. xxiii. 23), the *Tamuna*, the *Rikhikhu*, and the *Khindari*, who all appear among the Aramæans plundered by Sennacherib. (Infra, p. 430.) The Gambulu or Gumbulu were known to the Arab geographers and historians as *Junbulá*. They place the *Junbulá* in the Lemlun marsh district.

[1] Or Arceanus (Ἀρκέανος) may be Sargon (*Sar-kina*), the simple breathing replacing the initial S, as maintained by Mr. Vance Smith and M. Oppert.

reduction of the Aramæans, and the conquest of at least a portion of Susiana. To the Susianian territory Sargon transported the Comukha from the Upper Tigris, placing the mixed population under a governor, whom he made dependent on the viceroy of Babylon.[2]

The Assyrian dominion was thus firmly established on the shores of the Persian Gulf. The power of Babylon was broken. Henceforth the Assyrian rule is maintained over the whole of Chaldæa and Babylonia, with few and brief interruptions, to the close of the Empire. The reluctant victim struggles in his captor's grasp, and now and then for a short space shakes it off; but only to be seized again with a fiercer gripe, until at length his struggles cease, and he resigns himself to a fate which he has come to regard as inevitable. During the last fifty years of the Empire, from B.C. 680 to B.C. 625, the province of Babylon was almost as tranquil as any other.

The pride of Sargon received at this time a gratification which he is not able to conceal, in the homage which was paid him by sovereigns who had only heard of his fame, and who were safe from the attacks of his armies. While he held his court at Babylon, in the year B.C. 708 or 707, he gave audience to two embassies from two opposite quarters, both sent by islanders dwelling (as he expresses it) "*in the middle* of the seas" that washed the outer skirts of his dominions.[3] Upir, king of Asmun, who ruled

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[2] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 30.

[3] This expression, and the subsequent statement that Cyprus, which is less than 65 miles distant from the nearest part of the Phœnician coast, was "seven days' sail from the shore," sufficiently mark the ignorance of the Assyrians where nautical matters are concerned. Sargon calls Cyprus "a country of which none of the kings of Assyria

over an island in the Persian Gulf, Khareg perhaps, or Bahrein, sent messengers, who bore to the Great King the tribute of the far East. Seven Cyprian monarchs, chiefs of a country which lay "at the distance of seven days from the coast, in the sea of the setting sun," offered him by their envoys the treasures of the West.[4] The very act of bringing presents implied submission; and the Cypriots not only thus admitted his suzerainty, but consented to receive at his hands and to bear back to their country a more evident token of subjection. This was an effigy of the Great King, carved in the usual form, and accompanied with an inscription recording his name and titles, which was set up at Idalium, nearly in the centre of the island, and made known to the Cypriots the form and appearance of the sovereign whom it was not likely that they would ever see.[5]

The expeditions of Sargon to the north and north-east had results less splendid than those which he undertook to the south-west and the south; but it may be doubted whether they did not more severely try his military skill and the valour of his soldiers. The mountain tribes of Zagros, Taurus, and Niphates, Medes, Armenians, Tibareni, Moschi, &c., were probably far braver men and far better soldiers than the levies of Egypt, Susiana, and Babylon. Experience, moreover, had by this time taught the

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or Babylonia had ever heard the name." (*Inscriptions, &c.*, p. 31.)

[4] The tribute of *Upir* is not stated. That of the Cyprians consisted of gold, silver, vases, logs of ebony, and the manufactures of their own land.

[5] This effigy of Sargon, found on the site of Idalium, is now in the Berlin Museum. In the Inscriptions, "setting up the image of his majesty" is always a sign that a monarch has conquered a country. Such images are sometimes represented in the bas-reliefs. (See Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, Pl. 64.)

tribes the wisdom of uniting against the common foe, and we find Ambris the Tibarenian in alliance with Mita the Moschian, and Urza the Armenian, when he ventures to revolt against Sargon. The submission of the northern tribes was with difficulty obtained by a long and fierce struggle, which—so far as one belligerent was concerned — terminated in a compromise. Ambris was deposed,[6] and his country placed under an Assyrian governor; Mita[7] consented, after many years of resistance, to pay a tribute; Urza was defeated, and committed suicide; but the general pacification of the north was not effected until a treaty was made with the king of Van, and his good will purchased by the cession to him of a considerable tract of country which the Assyrians had previously taken from Urza.[8]

On the side of Media the resistance offered to the arms of Sargon seems to have been slighter, and he was consequently able to obtain a far more complete success. Having rapidly overrun the country, he seized a number of the towns and "annexed them to Assyria," [9] or, in other words, reduced a great portion of Media into the form of a province. He also built in one part of the country a number of fortified posts. He then imposed a tribute on the natives, consisting

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[6] There was peculiar ingratitude in the conduct of Ambris. Sargon had selected him from among the neighbouring kings for the honour of a matrimonial alliance; and had given him the province of Cilicia as the dowry of the daughter whom he sent to Ambris to be his wife.

[7] This name has been compared with the Phrygian Midas. (Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 131, 2nd ed.)

[8] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 24. Sargon represents this as a pure act of favour on his part: but we cannot be mistaken in considering it as an act of prudence.

Urza's signet cylinder has been discovered and brought to Europe. It bears a four-winged genius, grasping with either hand an ostrich by the neck. (See Cullimore *Cylinders*, pl. 8, fig. 40.)

[9] Ibid. p. 25. Compare p. 37.

entirely of horses, which were perhaps required to be of the famous Nisæan breed.[10]

In all his wars Sargon largely employed the system of wholesale deportation. The Israelites were removed from Samaria, and planted partly in Gozan or Mygdonia, and partly in the cities recently taken from the Medes.[11] Hamath and Damascus were peopled with captives from Armenia and other regions of the North. A portion of the Tibareni were carried captive to Assyria, and Assyrians were established in the Tibarenian country. Vast numbers of the inhabitants of the Zagros range were also transported to Assyria; Babylonians, Cuthæans, Sepharvites, Arabians, and others, were placed in Samaria; men from the extreme east (perhaps Media) in Ashdod. The Comukha were removed from the extreme north to Susiana; and Chaldæans were brought from the extreme south to supply their place. Everywhere Sargon "changed the abodes" of his subjects,[12] his aim being, as it would seem, to weaken the stronger races by dispersion, and to destroy the spirit of the weaker ones by severing at a blow all the links which attach a patriotic people to the country it has long inhabited. The practice had not been unknown to previous monarchs,[1] but it had never been employed by any so generally or on so grand a scale as it was by this king.

From this sketch of Sargon's wars, we may now proceed to a brief consideration of his great works.

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[10] On the Nisæan horses see the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 33, note [6], 2nd ed.

[11] 2 Kings xviii. 11. "And the king of Assyria did carry away Israel unto Assyria, and put them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in *the cities of the Medes*."

[12] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 37.

[1] See above, pp. 326, 343, 397 and 398.

The magnificent palace which he erected at Khorsabad—by far the most important of his constructions—has been so fully described in the first volume of the present work,[2] that it will be unnecessary to give any further account of it here. Compared with the later, and even with the earlier buildings of a similar kind erected by other kings, it was not remarkable for its size. But its ornamentation was unsurpassed by that of any Assyrian edifice, with the single exception of the great palace of Asshur-bani-pal at Koyunjik. Covered with sculptures, both internally and externally, generally in two lines, one over the other, and, above this, adorned with enamelled bricks, arranged in elegant and tasteful patterns; approached by noble flights of steps and through splendid propylæa; having the advantage, moreover, of standing by itself, and of not being interfered with by any other edifice, it had peculiar beauties of its own, and may be pronounced in many respects the most interesting of the Assyrian buildings. United to this palace was a town enclosed by strong walls, which formed a square two thousand yards each way. Allowing fifty square yards to each individual, this space would have been capable of accommodating 80,000 persons. The town, like the palace, seems to have been entirely built by Sargon, who imposed on it his own name, an appellation which it retained beyond the time of the Arab conquest.[3]

It is not easy to understand the exact object of Sargon in building himself this new residence. Dur-

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[2] Pp. 358-385.

[3] The Arab geographer Yacut speaks of Khurstabadh (Khorsabad) as a village east of the Tigris, opposite to Mosul, and *adjoining the old ruined city of Sarghun.* (See *As. Soc. Journ.* vol. xii. p. 419, note [2].)

Sargina was not the Windsor or Versailles of Assyria —a place to which the sovereign could retire for country air and amusements from the bustle and heat of the metropolis. It was, as we have said, a town, and a town of considerable size, being very little less than half as large as Nineveh itself. It is true that it possessed the advantage of a nearer vicinity to the mountains than Nineveh; and had Sargon been, like several of his predecessors, "a mighty hunter," we might have supposed that the greater facility of obtaining sport in the woods and valleys of the Zagros chain formed the attraction which led him to prefer the region where he built his town to the banks of the Tigris. But all the evidence that we possess seems to show that this monarch was destitute of any love for the chase;[4] and seemingly we must attribute his change of abode either to mere caprice, or to a desire to be near the mountains for the sake of cooler water, purer air, and more varied scenery. It is no doubt true, as M. Oppert observes,[5] that the royal palace at Nineveh was at this time in a ruinous state; but it could not have been more difficult or more expensive to repair it than to construct a new palace, a new mound, and a new town, on a fresh site.

Previously to the construction of the Khorsabad palace, Sargon resided at Calah.[6] He there repaired

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[4] It is true the evidence is only negative, but it is as strong as negative evidence can be. Sargon neither mentions hunting in any of his inscriptions, nor represents himself as engaged in it in his sculptures. The only representation of sport which his bas-reliefs furnish consists of one series of slabs, where partridges, hares, and gazelles are the objects of pursuit. The king is present, driving in his chariot, but seems to take no part in the sport. (See above, p. 145.)

[5] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 31, note [2].

[6] This must have been his principal residence, as the Khorsabad palace was not finished till his fifteenth year.

and renovated the great palace of Asshur-idanni-pal, which had been allowed to fall to decay.[7] At Nineveh he repaired the walls of the town, which were ruined in many places, and built a temple to Nebo and Merodach; while in Babylonia he improved the condition of the embankments, by which the distribution of the waters was directed and controlled.[8]

The progress of mimetic art under Sargon is not striking; but there are indications of an advance in several branches of industry, and of an improved taste in design and in ornamentation. Transparent glass seems now to have been first brought into use,[9] and intaglios to have been first cut upon hard stones.[10] The furniture of the period is greatly superior in design to any previously represented,[11] and the modelling of sword-hilts, maces, armlets, and other ornaments is peculiarly good.[12] The enamelling of bricks was carried under Sargon to its greatest perfection; and the shape of vases, goblets, and boats shows a marked improvement upon the works of former times.[13] The advance in animal forms, traceable in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser, continues; and the drawing of horses' heads, in particular, leaves little to desire.[14]

After reigning gloriously over Assyria for seventeen years, and for the last five of them over Babylonia also, Sargon died, leaving his crown to the most celebrated of all the Assyrian monarchs, his son Sen-

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[7] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 35.

[8] Ibid.

[9] At any rate the earliest *known* specimens belong to this reign. (See vol. i. p. 484.)

[10] King, *Antique Gems*, p. 127.

[11] See the following representations in vol. i. of this work:—1. the table, No. IV., p. 486; 2. the throne, p. 488; 3. the seat without a back on the same page.

[12] See above, pp. 63, 64, and 103.

[13] Supra, vol. i. pp. 387, 481; vol. ii. pp. 175 and 214.

[14] See vol. i. p. 436.

nacherib, who began to reign B.C. 704. The long notices which we possess of this monarch in the Books of the Old Testament, his intimate connection with the Jews, the fact that he was the object of a preternatural exhibition of the Divine displeasure, and the remarkable circumstance that this miraculous interposition appears under a thin disguise in the records of the Greeks, have always attached an interest to his name, which the kings of this remote period and distant region very rarely awaken. It has also happened, curiously enough, that the recent Mesopotamian researches have tended to give to Sennacherib a special prominence over other Assyrian monarchs, more particularly in this country, our great excavator having devoted his chief efforts to the disinterment of a palace of this king's construction, which has supplied to our National Collection almost one-half of its treasures. The result is, that while the other sovereigns who bore sway in Assyria are generally either wholly unknown, or float before the mind's eye as dim and shadowy forms, Sennacherib stands out to our apprehension as a living and breathing man, the impersonation of all that pride and greatness which we assign to the Ninevite kings, the living embodiment of Assyrian haughtiness, Assyrian violence, and Assyrian power. The task of setting forth the life and actions of this prince, which the course of the history now imposes on its compiler, if increased in interest, is augmented also in difficulty, by the grandeur of the ideal figure which has possession of men's minds.

The reign of Sennacherib lasted twenty-four years, from B.C. 704 to B.C. 680. The materials which we possess for his history consist of a record written in

his sixteenth[1] year, describing his military expeditions and his buildings up to that time;[2] of the Scriptural notices to which reference has already been made;[3] of some fragments of Polyhistor preserved by Eusebius;[4] and of the well-known passage of Herodotus which contains a mention of his name.[5] From these documents we shall be able to make out in some detail the chief actions of the earlier portion of his reign; but they fail to supply any account of his later years, unless we may assign to that portion of his life some facts mentioned by Polyhistor, to which there is no allusion in the native records.

It seems probable that troubles both abroad and at home greeted the new reign. The Canon of Ptolemy shows a two years' interregnum at Babylon (from B.C. 704 to B.C. 702) exactly coinciding with the first two years of Sennacherib. This would imply a revolt of Babylon from Assyria soon after his accession, and either a period of anarchy or a rapid succession of pretenders, none of whom held the throne for so long a time as a

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[1] This document is known as "the Taylor Cylinder." It is dated in the Eponymy of Bel-Simiani, who appears in the Assyrian Canon as the Eponym of Sennacherib's sixteenth year, B.C. 690, and again of his twenty-first year, B.C. 685. An abstract of the most important portion of this inscription was given by Sir H. Rawlinson as long ago as 1852 in his *Outlines of Assyrian History*, while detailed translations have been since published by Mr. Fox Talbot (*Journ. of the As. Soc.*, vol. xix. pp. 135-181), and M. Oppert (*Inscriptions des Sargonides*, pp. 41-53).

[2] There is a second document called "the Bellino Cylinder," which was written in Sennacherib's fourth year, and contains his first two campaigns, together with an account of his early buildings at Nineveh. In general it agrees closely with the Taylor Cylinder; but it adds some few facts, as the appointment of Belipni. Mr. Fox Talbot translated it in his *Assyrian Texts*, pp. 1-9.

[3] 2 Kings xviii. 13-37; Isa. xxxvi. and xxxvii.

[4] Euseb. *Chron. Can.* Pars 1ma. c. iv.-v. Eusebius has also preserved a passage of Abydenus in which Sennacherib is mentioned (ib. c. ix. § 1); but it contains little of any value that is not also mentioned by Polyhistor.

[5] Herod. ii. 141.

twelvemonth.[6] Polyhistor gives us certain details, from which we gather that there were at least three monarchs in the interval left blank by the Canon[7] —first, a brother of Sennacherib, whose name is not given; secondly, a certain Hagisa, who wore the crown only a month; and thirdly, Merodach-Baladan, who had escaped from captivity, and, having murdered Hagisa, resumed the throne of which Sargon had deprived him six or seven years before.[8] Sennacherib must apparently have been so much engaged with his domestic affairs that he could not devote his attention to these Babylonian matters till the third year from his accession.[9] In B.C. 702 he descended on the lower country and engaged the troops of Merodach-Baladan, which consisted in part of native Babylonians, in part of Susianians, sent to his assistance by the king of Elam.[10] Over this army Sennacherib gained a complete victory near the city of Kis, after which he took Babylon, and overran the whole of Chaldæa, plundering (according to his own account)

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[6] It is an admitted feature of Ptolemy's Canon that it takes no notice of kings who reigned less than a year.

[7] The following is Polyhistor's statement, as reported by Eusebius: "Postquam regno defunctus est Senecheribi frater, et post Hagisæ in Babylonios dominationem, qui quidem nondum expleto trigesimo imperii die a Marudacho Baldane interemptus est, Marudachus ipse Baldanes tyrannidem invasit mensibus sex; donec eum sustulit vir quidam nomine Elibus, qui et in regnum successit." (*Chron. Can.* Pars 1ma. v. § 1.)

[8] Supra, p. 420.

[9] It was formerly concluded from Sennacherib's cylinders that his first Babylonian expedition was in his first and his Syrian expedition in his third year. But neither the Bellino nor the Taylor Cylinder is, strictly speaking, in the form of *annals*. The Babylonian was his first campaign, the Syrian his third. But two years seem to have passed before he engaged in foreign expeditions.

It is confirmatory of this view, which follows from the chronology of the Assyrian Canon compared with the Canon of Ptolemy, to find that the Bellino Cylinder, written in Sennacherib's fourth year, gives, not four campaigns, but two only—those of B.C. 702 and B.C. 701.

[10] This king was probably the Sutruk-Nakhunta who had warred with Sargon. (Supra, p. 418.)

seventy-six large towns and 420 villages.[11] Merodach-Baladan once more made his escape, flying probably to Susiana, where we afterwards find his sons living as refugees.[12] Sennacherib, before quitting Babylon, appointed as tributary king an Assyrian named Bel-ipni, who seems to be the Belibus of Ptolemy's Canon, and the Elibus of Polyhistor.[13] On his return from Babylonia he invaded and ravaged the territory of the Aramæan tribes on the middle Euphrates—the Tumuna, Ruhua, Gambulu, Khindaru, and Pukudu[14] (Pekod?), the Nabatu or Nabathæans, the Hagaranu or Hagarenes,[15] and others, carrying into captivity more than 200,000 of the inhabitants, besides great numbers of horses, camels, asses, oxen, and sheep.[16]

In the following year, B.C. 701, Sennacherib made war on the tribes in Zagros, forcing Ispabara, whom Sargon had established in power,[17] to fly from his country, and conquering many cities and districts, which he attached to Assyria, and placed under the government of Assyrian officers.[18]

The most important of all the expeditions contained in Sennacherib's records is that of his fifth year, B.C. 700, in which he attacked Luliya king of Sidon, and made his first expedition against Hezekiah king of Judah. Invading Syria with a

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[11] *As. Soc. Journ.* vol. xix. p. 137.

[12] Vide infra, p. 469.

[13] In Elibus the El is perhaps אל, "god," used for Bel, the particular god, or possibly Elibus is a mere corruption due to the double translation of Polyhistor's Greek into Armenian, and of the Armenian Eusebius into Latin.

[14] These tribes had all assisted Merodach-Baladan against Sargon. (See above, p. 419, note [11].)

[15] Compare 1 Chr. v. 10, 18-22; Ps. lxxxiii. 6. The Hagarenes are perhaps the Agræi of Strabo (xvi. p. 1091), Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 32), and others.

[16] *As. Soc. Journ.* vol. xix. p. 138.

[17] Supra, p. 418.

[18] *As. Soc. Journ.* vol. xix. pp. 139-143; *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, pp. 42, 43.

great host, he made Phœnicia the first object of his attack. There Luliya—who seems to be the Elulæus of Menander,[19] though certainly not the Elulæus of Ptolemy's Canon [20]—had evidently raised the standard of revolt, probably during the early years of Sennacherib, when domestic troubles seem to have occupied his attention. Luliya had, apparently, established his dominion over the greater part of Phœnicia, being lord not only of Sidon, or, as it is expressed in the inscription, of Sidon the greater and Sidon the less, but also of Tyre, Ecdippa, Akko, Sarepta, and other cities. However he did not venture to await Sennacherib's attack, but, as soon as he found the expedition was directed against himself, he took to flight, quitting the continent and retiring to an island in the middle of the sea—perhaps the island Tyre, or more probably Cyprus. Sennacherib did not attempt any pursuit, but was content to receive the submission of the various cities over which Luliya had ruled, and to establish in his place, as tributary monarch, a prince named Tubal. He then received the tributes of the other petty monarchs of these parts, among whom are mentioned Abdilihat king of Arvad, Hurus-milki king of Byblus, Mitinti king of Ashdod,[1] Puduel king of Beth-Ammon, a king of Moab, a king of Edom, and, (according to some writers,[2]) a "Menahem king of Samaria." After this Sennacherib marched southwards to Ascalon, where the king, Sidka, resisted him, but

[19] Ap. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* ix. 14.

[20] This identity is maintained by Mr. Bosanquet. (*Fall of Nineveh*, p. 40.)

[1] This name appears as that of a Philistine king in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser II. (See above, p. 399.)

[2] M. Oppert is, I believe, of this opinion. Mr. Fox Talbot so translates (*Asiatic Soc. Journ.* vol. xix. p. 144). Sir H. Rawlinson denies the identity of the town mentioned with Samaria, which is ordinarily represented in the Inscriptions by an entirely different set of characters.

was captured, together with his city, his wife, his children, his brothers, and the other members of his family. Here again a fresh prince was established in power, while the rebel monarch was kept a prisoner and transported into Assyria. Four towns dependant upon Ascalon, viz., Hazor, Joppa, Bene-berak, and Beth-Dagon,[3] were soon afterwards taken and plundered.

Sennacherib now pressed on against Egypt. The Philistine city of Ekron had not only revolted from Assyria, expelling its king, Padi, who was opposed to the rebellion, but had entered into negociations with Ethiopia and Egypt, and had obtained a promise of support from them. The king of Ethiopia was probably the second Shebek (or Sabaco) who is called Sevechus by Manetho, and is said to have reigned either twelve or fourteen years.[4] The condition of Egypt at the time was peculiar. The Ethiopian monarch seems to have exercised the real sovereign power; but native princes were established under him who were allowed the title of king, and exercised a real though delegated authority over their several cities and districts.[5] On the call of Ekron both princes and sovereign had hastened to its assistance, bringing with them an army consisting of chariots, horsemen, and archers, so numerous that Sennacherib calls it "a host that could not be numbered." The

[3] Joppa and Bene-Berak are connected with Ekron in Josh. xix. 43-46. There was a Hazor among the extreme southern cities of Judah (ib. xv. 23). And there was a Beth-Dagon in the low country or coast tract of Judah, which is probably the modern *Beit-Dajan* between Lydda and Joppa. These seem to be the four cities now taken by Sennacherib.

[4] Euseb. *Chron. Can.* Pars 1ma. c. xx.; African. ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, p. 184, C.

[5] We shall have fuller evidence of the continuation of this practice under the Assyrian kings when they became masters of Egypt. (Infra, pp. 475 and 486.) It is slightly indicated by the Dodecarchy of Herodotus (ii. 147).

second great battle[6] between the Assyrians and the Egyptians took place near a place called Altaku, which is no doubt the Eltekeh of the Jews,[7] a small town in the vicinity of Ekron. Again the might of Africa yielded to that of Asia. The Egyptians and Ethiopians were defeated with great slaughter. Many chariots, with their drivers, both Egyptian and Ethiopian, fell into the hands of the conqueror, who also took alive several "sons" of the principal Egyptian monarch.[8] The immediate fruit of the victory was the fall of Altaku, which was followed by the capture of Tamna, a neighbouring town.[9] Sennacherib then "went on" to Ekron, which made no resistance, but opened its gates to the victor. The princes and chiefs who had been concerned in the revolt he took alive and slew, exposing their bodies on stakes round the whole circuit of the city walls. Great numbers of inferior persons, who were regarded as guilty of rebellion, were sold as slaves. Padi, the expelled king, the friend to Assyria, was brought back, reinstated in his sovereignty, and required to pay a small tribute as a token of dependance.[10]

The restoration of Padi involved a war with Hezekiah king of Judah. When the Ekronites determined to get rid of a king, whose Assyrian proclivities were distasteful to them, instead of putting him to death they arrested him, loaded him with

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[6] The first great battle was that of Raphia. (Supra, p. 414.)

[7] See Josh. xix. 44, where Eltekeh (אלתקה) is mentioned next to Ekron. It was a city of the Levites (Josh. xix. 23).

[8] Perhaps not real "sons," but rather "servants." Compare the double use of *παῖς* in Greek.

[9] Tamna is no doubt Thimnatha (תמנתה), the Θάμνα of the Alexandrian codex, which is mentioned in Joshua (xix. 43) immediately before Ekron. This is probably not the Timnath or Timnatha of Samson's exploits.

[10] *As. Soc. Journ.* vol. xix. pp. 146, 147; *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, pp. 44, 45.

chains, and sent him to Hezekiah for safe keeping.[11] By accepting this charge the Jewish monarch made himself a partner in their revolt; and it was in part to punish this complicity, in part to compel him to give up Padi, that Sennacherib, when he had sufficiently chastised the Ekronite rebels, proceeded to invade Judæa. Then it was—in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, according to the present Hebrew text[12]—that "Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came up against all the fenced cities of Judah and took them. And Hezekiah king of Judah sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying, I have offended; return from me: that which thou puttest on me will I bear. And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah king of Judah, three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold. And Hezekiah gave him all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house. At that time did Hezekiah cut off [the gold from] the doors of the house of the Lord, and [from] the pillars which Hezekiah king of Judah had overlaid, and gave it to the king of Assyria." [13]

Such is the brief account of this expedition and its consequences which is given us by the author of the Second Book of Kings, who writes from a religious point of view, and is chiefly concerned at the desecration of holy things to which the imminent peril of his city and people forced the Jewish monarch to submit.

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[11] The first intention was, that Hezekiah should put Padi to death. The Ekronites, we are told, "sent Padi to Hezekiah *to be destroyed*; but he prayed to God, and he (God) softened their hearts." It is remarkable that the determinative for "God" is here used alone, without the addition of any name of a god.

[12] If it was in Hezekiah's sixth year that Samaria was taken by Sargon; he should now have reached his twenty-seventh year. The Hebrew and Assyrian numbers are here irreconcilable. I should propose to read in 2 Kings. xviii. 13 "twenty-seventh" for "fourteenth."

[13] 2 Kings xviii. 13-16.

It is interesting to compare with this account the narrative of Sennacherib himself, who records the features of the expedition most important in his eyes, the number of the towns taken and of the prisoners carried into captivity, the measures employed to compel submission, and the nature and amount of the spoil which he took with him to Nineveh.

"Because Hezekiah king of Judah," says the Assyrian monarch,[1] "would not submit to my yoke, I came up against him, and by force of arms and by the might of my power I took forty-six of his strong fenced cities; and of the smaller towns which were scattered about I took and plundered a countless number. And from these places I captured and carried off as spoil 200,150 people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, his capital city, like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates, so as to prevent escape. . . . Then upon this Hezekiah there fell the fear of the power of my arms, and he sent out to me the chiefs and the elders of Jerusalem with thirty talents of gold and eight hundred talents of silver, and divers treasures, a rich and immense booty. . . . All these things were brought to me at Nineveh, the seat of my government, Hezekiah having sent them by way of tribute, and as a token of his submission to my power."

It appears then that Sennacherib, after punishing

[1] The translation of Sir H. Rawlinson, which has already appeared in the author's *Bampton Lectures* (pp. 141, 142, 1st edition) is here followed. It agrees in all essential points with the translations of Dr. Hincks (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 143, 144), M. Oppert (*Inscriptions des Sargonides*, pp. 45, 46), and Mr. Fox Talbot (*Journ. of As. Soc.* vol. xix. pp. 147-149).

the people of Ekron, broke up from before that city, and entering Judæa proceeded towards Jerusalem, spreading his army over a wide space, and capturing on his way a vast number of small towns and villages,[2] whose inhabitants he enslaved and carried off to the number of 200,000.[3] Having reached Jerusalem he commenced the siege in the usual way, erecting towers around the city, from which stones and arrows were discharged against the defenders of the fortifications, and "casting banks" against the walls and gates.[4] Jerusalem seems to have been at this time very imperfectly fortified. The "breaches of the city of David" had recently been "many;" and the

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[2] It is perhaps this desolation of the territory to which Isaiah alludes in his 24th chapter—"Behold, the Lord maketh the earth empty, and maketh it waste, and turneth it upside down, and scattereth abroad all the inhabitants thereof. . . . . The land shall be utterly emptied, and utterly spoiled; for the Lord hath spoken this word. The earth mourneth and fadeth away, the world languisheth and fadeth away; the haughty people of the earth do languish. The earth also is defiled under the inhabitants thereof; because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinances, broken the everlasting covenant. Therefore has the curse devoured the earth, and they that dwell therein are desolate; therefore the inhabitants of the earth are burned, and few men left. The new wine mourneth, the vine languisheth, all the merry-hearted do sigh. The mirth of tabrets ceaseth, the noise of them that rejoice endeth, the joy of the harp ceaseth. They shall not drink wine with a song; strong drink shall be bitter to them that drink it. The city of confusion is broken down; every house is shut up, that no man may come in. There is a crying for wine in the streets; all joy is darkened; and the mirth of the land is gone. In the city is left desolation, and the gate is smitten with destruction." (Is. xxiv. 1-12.)

[3] Demetrius regarded this as one of the great captivities, paralleling it with the previous captivity of Samaria and with the final captivity of Jerusalem in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. (Demetr. ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. p. 403.)

[4] Compare Is. xxix. 1-4, which seems to be a propheey of this siege, the only one (so far as we know) that Jerusalem underwent at the hands of the Assyrians. "Woe to Ariel, to Ariel, the city where David dwelt! Add ye year to year; let them kill saerifiees. For I will distress Ariel, and there shall be heaviness and sorrow; and it shall be unto me as Ariel. And I will *camp against thee round about*, and will lay siege against thee *with a mount*, and I will *raise forts* against thee. And thou shalt be brought down, and shalt speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be, as of one that hath a familiar spirit, out of the ground, and thy speech shall whisper out of the dust."

inhabitants had hastily pulled down the houses in the vicinity of the wall to fortify it.[5] It was felt that the holy place was in the greatest danger. We may learn from the conduct of the people, as described by one of themselves, what were the feelings generally of the cities threatened with destruction by the Assyrian armies. Jerusalem was at first "full of stirs and tumult;" the people rushed to the house-tops to see if they were indeed invested, and beheld "the choicest valleys full of chariots, and the horsemen set in array at the gates."[6] Then came "a day of trouble, and of treading down, and of perplexity" —a day of "breaking down the walls and of crying to the mountains."[7] Amidst this general alarm and mourning there were, however, found some whom a wild despair made reckless, and drove to a ghastly and ill-timed merriment. When God by his judgments gave an evident "call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldness, and to girding with sackcloth—behold joy and gladness, slaying oxen and killing sheep, eating flesh and drinking wine—'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die.'"[8] Hezekiah after a time came to the conclusion that resistance would be vain, and offered to surrender upon terms, an offer which Sennacherib, seeing the great strength of the place, and perhaps distressed for water,[9] readily granted. It was agreed that Hezekiah should under-

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[5] Is. xxii. 9, 10.

[6] Ib. verses 1, 2. [7] Ib. verse 5.

[8] Ib. verses 12, 13.

[9] It appears that Hezekiah either now, or on the second occasion, when Jerusalem was threatened by Sennacherib, "stopped all the fountains which were without the city, and the brook that ran through the midst of the land," because the people said, "Why should the Assyrian come and find much water?" (2 Chron. xxii. 3, 4; compare Is. xxii. 9, 11.) From both passages I should infer that the blocking of the fountains took place on this, the *first*, occasion. On the general subject of the changes made at this time in the water supply, see Williams's *Holy City*, vol. ii. pp. 472-482.

take the payment of an annual tribute, to consist of thirty talents of gold and three hundred talents of silver, and that he should further yield up the chief treasures of the place as a "present" to the Great King. Hezekiah, in order to obtain at once a sufficient supply of gold, was forced to strip the walls and pillars of the Temple, which were overlaid in parts with this precious metal.[10] He yielded up all the silver from the royal treasury and from the treasury of the Temple; and this amounted to five hundred talents more than the fixed rate of tribute. In addition to these sacrifices the Jewish monarch was required to surrender Padi, his Ekronite prisoner, and was mulcted in certain portions of his dominions, which were attached by the conqueror to the territories of neighbouring kings.[11]

Sennacherib, after this triumph, returned to Nineveh, but did not remain long in repose. The course of events summoned him in the ensuing year—B.C. 699—to Babylonia, where Merodach-Baladan, assisted by a certain Susub, a Chaldæan prince, was again in arms against his authority. Sennacherib first defeated Susub, and then, directing his march upon Beth-Yakin, forced Merodach-Baladan once more to quit the country and betake himself to one of the islands of the Persian Gulf, abandoning to Sennacherib's mercy his brothers and his other partisans.[1] It would appear that the Babylonian viceroy Belibus, who three years previously had been set over the country by Sennacherib, was either

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[10] 2 Chron. iii. 4-8.

[11] These were Mitinti king of Ashdod, Padi king of Ekron, and Tsilli-Bel king of Gaza. (*Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 45; *As. Soc. Journ.* vol. xix. p. 148.)

[1] *As. Soc. Journ.* vol. xix. pp. 149-150; *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 46.

actively implicated in this revolt, or was regarded as having contributed towards it by a neglect of proper precautions. Sennacherib, on his return from the sea-coast, superseded him, placing upon the throne his own eldest son Asshur-inadi-su, who appears to be the Asordanes of Polyhistor,[2] and the Aparanadius or Assaranadius[3] of Ptolemy's Canon.

The remaining events of Sennacherib's reign may be arranged in chronological order without much difficulty, but few of them can be dated with exactness. We lose at this point the invaluable aid of Ptolemy's Canon, which contains no notice of any event recorded in Sennacherib's inscriptions of later date than the appointment of Assaranadius.

It is probable[4] that in the year B.C. 698 Sennacherib conducted his second expedition into Palestine. Hezekiah, after his enforced submission two years earlier, had entered into negociations with the Egyptians,[5] and looking to receive important succours from this quarter, had again thrown off his allegiance. Sennacherib, understanding that the real enemy whom he had to fear on his south-western

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[2] Ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* Pars 1ma. c. v. "Hoc (i. e. Elibo) tertium jam annum regnante, Senecheribus rex Assyriorum copias adversum Babylonios contrahebat, prælioque cum iis conserto, superior evadebat; captumque Elibum cum familiaribus ejus in Assyriam transferri jubebat. Is igitur Babyloniorum potitus, filium suum Asordanem eis regem imponebat; ipse autem in Assyriam reditum maturabat."

[3] This change would easily take place by the two *sigmas* (σσ) being mistaken for a *pi* (ϖ).

[4] There is nothing in the Assyrian records to fix, or even to suggest, this date. It is required in consequence of the length of Hezekiah's reign. As Hezekiah is given only 29 years (2 Kings xviii. 2; 2 Chron. xxix. 1), if Sennacherib's first invasion was in his twenty-seventh year, the second must, at the latest, have fallen two years later, since that would be Hezekiah's twenty-ninth or last year. The arrangers of the dates in the margin of our Bibles made *three* years intervene between the first and second expeditions.

[5] This is implied in the reproach of Rabshakeh (2 Kings xviii. 21; Is. xxxvi. 6). It seems to be alluded to in Is. xxxi. 1-3, and stated positively in Is. xxx. 4.

frontier was not Judæa but Egypt, marched his army through Palestine—probably by the coast route—and without stopping to chastise Jerusalem, pressed southwards to Libnah and Lachish,[6] which were at the extreme verge of the Holy Land, and were probably at this time subject to Egypt. He first commenced the siege of Lachish "with all his power;"[7] and while engaged in this operation, finding that Hezekiah was not alarmed by his proximity, and did not send in his submission, he detached a body of troops[8] from his main force, and sent it under a Tartan or general, supported by two high officers of the court—the Rab-shakeh or Chief Cup-bearer, and the Rab-saris or Chief Eunuch—to summon the rebellious city to surrender. Hezekiah was willing to treat, and sent out to the Assyrian camp, which was pitched just outside the walls, three high officials of his own to open negociations. But the Assyrian envoys had not come to debate or even to offer terms, but to require the unconditional submission of both king and people. The Rab-shakeh or cup-bearer, who was familiar with the Hebrew language,[9] took the word and delivered his message in insulting phrase, laughing at the simplicity which could trust in Egypt, and the superstitious folly which could expect a divine deliverance, and defying Hezekiah to produce so many as two thousand trained soldiers capable of serving as cavalry. When requested to use a foreign rather than the native dialect, lest the people who were upon the walls

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[6] 2 Kings xix. 8.

[7] 2 Chron. xxxii. 9.

[8] 2 Kings xviii. 17; Is. xxxvi. 2.

[9] It has been supposed from this fact that he was a renegade Jew (Prideaux, Milman). But there is no need of this supposition. Hebrew is so like Assyrian that an Assyrian would acquire it with great facility. At any rate, it is not more surprising that an Assyrian officer should know Hebrew than that three Jewish officers should understand Aramaic. (2 Kings xviii. 26.)

should hear, the bold envoy, with an entire disregard of diplomatic forms, raised his voice and made a direct appeal to the popular fears and hopes, thinking to produce a tumultuary surrender of the place, or at least an outbreak of which his troops might have taken advantage. His expectations however were disappointed; the people made no response to his appeal, but listened in profound silence; and the ambassadors, finding that they could obtain nothing from the fears of either king or people, and regarding the force that they had brought with them as insufficient for a siege, returned to their master with the intelligence of their ill-success.[10] The Assyrian monarch had either taken Lachish or raised its siege, and was gone on to Libnah, where the envoys found him. On receiving their report he determined to make still another effort to overcome Hezekiah's obstinacy; and accordingly he dispatched fresh messengers with a letter to the Jewish king, in which he was reminded of the fate of various other kingdoms and peoples which had resisted the Assyrians, and once more urged to submit himself.[11] It was this letter—perhaps a royal autograph—which Hezekiah took into the Temple and there "spread it before the Lord," praying God to "bow down his ear and hear" —to "open his eyes and see, and hear the words of Sennacherib, which had sent to reproach the living God."[12] Upon this Isaiah was commissioned to declare to his afflicted sovereign that the kings of Assyria were mere instruments in God's hands to destroy such nations as He pleased, and that none of Sennacherib's threats against Jerusalem should be

[10] 2 Kings xix. 8. [11] Ibid. xix. 9-13.
[12] Ibid. 14-16.

accomplished. God, Isaiah told him, would "put his hook in Sennacherib's nose, and his bridle in his lips, and turn him back by the way by which he came." The Lord had said, concerning the king of Assyria, "He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shield, nor cast a bank against it. By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and shall not come into this city. For I will defend this city, to save it, for my own sake, and for my servant David's sake." [13]

Meanwhile it is probable that Sennacherib, having received the submission of Libnah, had advanced upon Egypt. It was important to crush an Egyptian army which had been collected against him by a certain Sethos, one of the many native princes who at this time ruled in the Lower country,[1] before the great Ethiopian monarch Tehrak or Tirhakah, who was known to be on his march,[2] should effect a junction with the troops of this minor potentate. Sethos, with his army, was at Pelusium;[3] and Sennacherib,

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[13] 2 Kings xix. 20-34. On the receipt of the message sent by Rabshakeh, Isaiah had declared—"Thus saith the Lord God, 'Be not afraid of the words which thou hast heard, with which the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me. Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a rumour, and shall return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.'" (Ibid. 6, 7.)

[1] Herod. ii. 141. According to some writers, the Sethos of Herodotus is the Zet of Manetho, the last king of the twenty-third dynasty, who reigned at Tanis (Zoan), while Bocchoris was reigning at Sais, and the Ethiopians in Upper Egypt. (Hincks in *Athenæum*, No. 1878, p. 534; Stuart Poole in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. iii. p. 1856, ad voc. ZOAN.) The fact of a number of princes at this time dividing Egypt is apparent both in Scripture (Is. xix. 2), and in the Assyrian inscriptions. (*Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 44.)

[2] 2 Kings xix. 9. The Apis stelæ show that Tirhakah did not ascend the throne of *Egypt* till B.C. 690, *eight* years after this; but he may have been already—as he is called in Scripture—"king of Ethiopia."

[3] Herod. ii. 141. It is thought that the main outline of the narrative in this writer is compatible with the account in the Book of Kings, and may be used to fill up its chasms.

advancing to attack him, had arrived within sight of the Egyptian host, and pitched his camp over against the camp of the enemy, just at the time[4] when Hezekiah received his letter and made the prayer to which Isaiah was instructed to respond. The two hosts lay down at night in their respective stations, the Egyptians and their king full of anxious alarm, Sennacherib and his Assyrians proudly confident, intending on the morrow to advance to the combat and repeat the lesson taught at Raphia and Altaku.[5] But no morrow was to break on the great mass of those who took their rest in the tents of the Assyrians. The divine fiat had gone forth. In the night, as they slept, destruction fell upon them. "The angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses." A miracle, like the destruction of the first-born,[6] had been wrought, but this time on the enemies of the Egyptians, who naturally ascribed their deliverance to the interposition of their own gods;[7] and seeing the enemy in confusion and retreat, pressed hastily after him, distressed his flying columns, and cut off his stragglers.[8] The Assyrian king returned home to Nineveh, shorn of his glory, with the shattered remains of his great host, and cast

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[4] "And it came to pass *that night*, that the angel of the Lord went out," &c. (2 Kings xix. 35.)

[5] Supra, pp. 414 and 433.

[6] I cannot accept the view that the Assyrian army was destroyed by the Simoom, owing to the foreign forces of Sennacherib being little acquainted with the means of avoiding this unusual enemy. (Milman, *History of the Jews*, vol. i. p. 307.) The Simoom would not have destroyed one army and left the other unhurt. Nor would it have remained for the survivors to find when they *awoke in the morning* that the camp contained 185,000 dead men. The narrative implies a secret, sudden taking away of life during sleep, by direct Divine interposition.

[7] Herod. ii. 141, ad fin.

[8] Ibid.

that proud capital into a state of despair and grief, which the genius of an Æschylus might have rejoiced to depict,[9] but which no less powerful pen could adequately portray.

It is difficult to say how soon Assyria recovered from this terrible blow. The annals of Sennacherib, as might have been expected, omit it altogether, and represent the Assyrian monarch as engaged in a continuous series of successful campaigns, which seem to extend uninterruptedly from his third to his tenth year.[10] It is possible, that while the Syrian expedition was in progress under the eye of Sennacherib himself, a successful war was being conducted by one of his generals in the mountains of Armenia, and that Sennacherib was thus enabled, without absolutely falsifying history, to parade as his own certain victories gained by this leader in the very year of his own reverse. It is even conceivable that the power of Assyria was not so injured by the loss of a single great army, as to make it necessary for her to stop even for one year in the course of her aggressive warfare; and thus the expeditions of Sennacherib may form an uninterrupted series, the eight campaigns which are assigned to him occupying eight consecutive years. But on the other hand it is quite as probable that there are gaps in the history, some years having been omitted altogether. The Taylor Cylinder records but eight campaigns, yet it was certainly written as late as Sennacherib's sixteenth year.[11] It contains no notice of any events in Sen-

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[9] See the *Persæ*, 893-1055.

[10] Sennacherib, however, does not speak of years, but of campaigns. ("In my first campaign," "In my second campaign," and the like.) M. Oppert translates more correctly than Mr. Fox Talbot.

[11] This is proved by the name of the Eponym. The date may be later, for the same person, or a person of

nacherib's first or second year; and it may consequently make other omissions covering equal or larger intervals. Thus the destruction of the Assyrian army at Pelusium may have been followed by a pause of some years' duration in the usual aggressive expeditions; and it may very probably have encouraged the Babylonians in the attempt to shake off the Assyrian yoke, which they certainly made towards the middle of Sennacherib's reign.

But while it appears to be probable that consequences of some importance followed on the Pelusiac calamity, it is tolerably certain that no such tremendous results flowed from it as some writers have imagined. The murder of the disgraced Sennacherib "within fifty-five days" of his return to Nineveh,[12] seems to be an invention of the Alexandrian Jew who wrote the Book of Tobit. The total destruction of the empire in consequence of the blow, is an exaggeration of Josephus,[13] rashly credited by some moderns.[14] Sennacherib did not die till B.C. 680, seventeen years after his misfortune;[15] and the empire suffered so little that we find Esar-haddon, a few years later, in full possession of all the territory that any king before him had ever held, ruling from Babylonia to Egypt, or (as he himself expresses it) "from the rising up of the sun to the going down of the same."[1] Even Sennacherib himself was not prevented by his calamity from undertaking important wars during the latter part of his

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the same name, was Eponym five years afterwards, in Sennacherib's twenty-first year.

[12] Tobit i. 21.

[13] *Ant. Jud.* x. 2. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μήδων καταλυθῆναι.

[14] As Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i. pp. 279, 280.

[15] The expression in 2 Kings xix. 36, that "Sennacherib departed, and went, and returned, *and dwelt* at Nineveh," implies some considerable length of time, and shows the unhistorical character of Tobit.

[1] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 10.

reign. We shall see shortly that he recovered Babylon, chastised Susiana, and invaded Cilicia, in the course of the seventeen years which intervened between his flight from Pelusium and his decease.

The fifth campaign of Sennacherib, according to his own annals, was partly in a mountainous country which he calls Nipur or Nibur—probably the most northern portion of the Zagros range[2] where it abuts on Ararat. He there took a number of small towns, after which he proceeded westward and contended with a certain Maniya, king of Dayan, which was a part of Taurus bordering on Cilicia.[3] He boasts that he penetrated further into this region than any king before him; and the boast is confirmed by the fact that the geographical names which appear are almost entirely new to us.[4] The expedition was a plundering raid, not an attempt at conquest. Sennacherib ravaged the country, burnt the towns, and carried away with him all the valuables, the flocks and herds, and the inhabitants.

After this it appears that for at least three years he was engaged in a fierce struggle with the combined Babylonians and Susianians. The troubles

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[2] This emplacement depends almost entirely on the name Nibur, which seems to be represented by the Mt. Nibarus (Νίβαρος) of Strabo. This range lay east of Niphates, stretching as far as Media (παρατείνει μέχρι τῆς Μηδίας, xi. p. 766). It seems rightly regarded as the *Ala Dagh*, a range due north of Lake Van.

[3] *Dayan* is mentioned on the Tiglath-Pileser cylinder among the countries of the Naïri. (*Inscription*, p. 46.) A bull-inscription of Sennacherib shows that it lay to the extreme west of their country, where it abutted on Cilicia and the country of the Tibareni (Tubal).

[4] *Dayan* is not new; but *Uzza*, its capital, and its strongholds, *Anara* and *Uppa*, are *new* names. Mr. Fox Talbot conjectures that Anara is "the celebrated Aornus, besieged many ages afterwards by Alexander the Great." (*As. Soc. Journ.*, vol. xix. p. 153.) But Aornus was in Bactria, far beyond the utmost limit to which the Assyrian arms ever penetrated eastward.

recommenced by an attempt of the Chaldæans of Beth-Yakin to withdraw themselves from the Assyrian territory and to transfer their allegiance to the Elymæan king. Carrying with them their gods and their treasures, they embarked in their ships, and crossing "the Great Sea of the Rising Sun"—*i. e.* the Persian Gulf—landed on the Elamitic coast, where they were kindly received and allowed to take up their abode. Such voluntary removals are not uncommon in the East;[5] and they constantly give rise to complaints and reclamations, which not unfrequently terminate in an appeal to the arbitrament of the sword. Sennacherib does not inform us whether he made any attempt to recover his lost subjects by diplomatic representations at the court of Susa. If he did, they were unsuccessful; and in order to obtain redress, he was compelled to resort to force, and to undertake an expedition into the Elamitic territory. It is remarkable that he determined to make his invasion by sea. Their frequent wars on the Syrian coasts had by this time familiarised the Assyrians with the idea, if not with the practice, of navigation; and as their suzerainty over Phœnicia placed at their disposal a large body of skilled shipwrights, and a number of the best sailors in the world, it was natural that they should resolve to employ naval as well as military force to advance their dominion. We have seen that, as early as the time of Shalmaneser, the Assyrians ventured themselves in ships, and, in conjunction

[5] Compare the removal of the Scyths from Media to Lydia in the reign of Cyaxares, which is said to have produced the Lydian war of that king (Herod. i. 73, 74), and the instances collected by Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 417, note [1], 2nd edition).

with the Phœnicians of the mainland, engaged the vessels of the Island Tyre.[6] It is probable that the precedent thus set was followed by later kings, and that both Sargon and Sennacherib had had the permanent, or occasional, services of a fleet on the Mediterranean. But there was a wide difference between such an employment of the navies belonging to their subjects on the sea to which they were accustomed, and the transfer to the opposite extremity of the empire of the naval strength hitherto confined to the Mediterranean. This thought—certainly not an obvious one—seems to have first occurred to Sennacherib. He conceived the idea of having a navy on both the seas that washed his dominions; and, possessing on his western coast only an adequate supply of skilled shipwrights and sailors,[7] he resolved on transporting from his western to his eastern shores such a body of Phœnicians as would enable him to accomplish his purpose. The shipwrights of Tyre and Sidon were carried across Mesopotamia to the Tigris, where they constructed for the Assyrian monarch a fleet of ships like their own galleys,[8] which descended the river to its mouth, and astonished the populations bordering on the Persian Gulf with a spectacle never before seen in those waters. Though the Chaldæans had for centuries navigated this inland sea, and may have occasionally ventured beyond its limits, yet neither as sailors nor

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[6] Supra, p. 405.

[7] The Chaldæans, whose "cry was in the ships" (Is. xliii. 14), no doubt possessed a mercantile marine which had long been accustomed to the navigation of the Persian Gulf. (See above, vol. i. pp. 34 and 128.) But they probably fell very far short of the Phœnicians both as respected their vessels and their nautical skill.

[8] Sennacherib calls them "Syrian vessels." Most probably they were biremes.

as ship-builders was their skill to compare with that of the Phœnicians. The masts and sails, the double tiers of oars, the sharp beaks of the Phœnician ships were (it is probable) novelties to the nations of these parts, who saw now, for the first time, a fleet debouche from the Tigris, with which their own vessels were quite incapable of contending.

When his fleet was ready Sennacherib put to sea, and crossed in his Phœnician ships from the mouth of the Tigris to the tract occupied by the emigrant Chaldæans, where he landed and destroyed the newly-built city, captured the inhabitants, ravaged the neighbourhood, and burnt a number of Susianian towns, finally re-embarking with his captives—Chaldæan and Susianian—whom he transported across the Gulf to the Chaldæan coast, and then took with him into Assyria. This whole expedition seems to have taken the Susianians by surprise. They had probably expected an invasion by land, and had collected their forces towards the north-western frontier, so so that when the troops of Sennacherib landed far in their rear, there were no forces in the neighbourhood to resist them. However, the departure of the Assyrians on an expedition regarded as extremely perilous, was the signal for a general revolt of the Babylonians, who once more set up a native king in the person of Susub,[9] and collected an army with which they made ready to give the Assyrians battle on their return. Perhaps they cherished the hope that the fleet which had tempted the dangers of an unknown sea would be seen no more, or expected that, at the best, it would bring back the shattered remnants of a defeated army. If so, they were dis-

[9] See above, p. 438.

appointed. The Assyrian troops landed on their coast flushed with success, and finding the Babylonians in revolt, proceeded to chastise them; defeated their forces in a great battle; captured their king, Susub; and when the Susianians came, somewhat tardily, to their succour, attacked and routed their army. A vast number of prisoners, and among them Susub himself, were carried off by the victors and conveyed to Nineveh.[10]

Shortly after this successful campaign, possibly in the very next year, Sennacherib resolved to break the power of Susiana by a great expedition directed solely against that country. The Susianians had, it appears, been strong enough in the reign of Sargon to deprive Assyria of a portion of her territory; and Kudur-Nakhunta,[1] the Elymæan king, still held two cities, Beth-Kahiri and Raza, which were regarded by Sennacherib as a part of his paternal inheritance. The first object of the war was the recovery of these two towns, which were taken without any difficulty and reattached to the Assyrian Empire.[2] Sennacherib then pressed on into the heart of Susiana, taking and destroying thirty-four large towns, whose names he mentions, together with a still greater number of villages, all of which he gave to the flames. Wasting and destroying in this way he drew near to Vadakat or Badaca,[3] the second city of the kingdom, where Kudur-Nakhunta had for the time fixed his residence.

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[10] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, pp. 47, 48; *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xix. pp. 154-156.

[1] Kudur-Nakhunta was the son of Sutruk-Nakhunta, the antagonist of Sargon (*supra*, p. 418). Bricks of Kudur-Nakhunta, brought from Susa, are in the Assyrian Collection of the British Museum.

[2] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 48.

[3] Badaca is placed by Diodorus on the Eulæus, between Susa and Ecbatana (xix. 19). It seems to have been situated at the point where the Kerkhah originally bifurcated, sending down an eastern arm which fell into the Kuran at Ahwaz. (See Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 424.)

The Elamitic king, hearing of his rapid approach, took fright, and hastily quitting Badaca, fled away to a city calltd Khidalu, at the foot of the mountains, where alone he could feel himself in safety. Sennacherib then advanced to Badaca, besieged it, and took it by assault; after which affairs seem to have required his presence at Nineveh, and, leaving his conquest incomplete, he returned home with a large booty.

A third campaign in these parts, the most important of all, followed. Susub, the Chaldæan prince whom Sennacherib had carried off to Assyria in the year of his naval expedition,[4] escaped from his confinement, and, returning to Babylon, was once more hailed as king by the inhabitants. Aware of his inability to maintain himself on the throne against the will of the Assyrians, unless he were assisted by the arms of a powerful ally, he resolved to obtain, if possible, the immediate aid of the neighbouring Elamitic monarch. Kudur-Nakhunta, the late antagonist of Sennacherib, was dead, having survived his disgraceful flight from Badaca only three months;[5] and Umman-minan, his younger brother, held the throne. Susub, bent on contracting an alliance with this prince, did not scruple at an act of sacrilege to obtain his end. He broke open the treasury of the great temple of Bel at Babylon, and seizing the gold and silver belonging to the god, sent it as a present to Umman-minan, with an urgent intreaty that he would instantly collect his troops and march to his aid.[6] The Elamitic mon-

[4] See above, p. 450.

[5] So Mr. Fox Talbot understands the passage (*As. Soc. Journ.* vol. xix. p. 159). It is thought, however, by some to mean that the whole reign of Kudur-Nakhunta lasted only three months.

[6] Compare the conduct of Ahaz (2 Kings xvi. 8).

arch, yielding to a request thus powerfully backed, and perhaps sufficiently wise to see that the interests of Susiana required an independent Babylon, set his troops in motion without any delay, and advanced to the banks of the Tigris. At the same time a number of the Aramæan tribes on the middle Euphrates, which Sennacherib had reduced in his third year,[7] revolted, and sent their forces to swell the army of Susub. A great battle was fought at Khaluli, a town on the lower Tigris, between the troops of Sennacherib and this allied host; the combat was long and bloody; but at last the Assyrians conquered. Susub and his Elamitic ally took to flight and made their escape. Nebo-sum-iskun, a son of Merodach-Baladan, and many other chiefs of high rank, were captured. The army was completely routed and broken up.[8] Babylon, it is probable, submitted, and perhaps now received for viceroy Regibelus or Mesesimordachus, whom the Canon of Ptolemy, which is silent about Susub, makes contemporary with the middle portion of Sennacherib's reign.[9]

The only other expedition which can be assigned, on important evidence, to the reign of Sennacherib, is one against Cilicia, in which he is said to have been opposed by Greeks.[10] According to Abydenus,

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[7] Supra, p. 430. The principal of these tribes were the Pukudu (Pekod), the Gambulu, the Khindaru, the Ruhua, and the Damunu.

[8] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, pp. 49-51; *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xix. pp. 159-165.

[9] Regibelus ascends the throne in B.C. 693, and Mesesimordachus in the following year. These are the 12th and 13th years of Sennacherib. The omission of Susub from the Canon may be accounted for by the probable fact that neither of his two reigns lasted for a full year. That he was actual king is proved by a "contract" tablet in the British Museum dated from his reign.

[10] Polyhist. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* Pars 1ma, c. v.:—"Is igitur (*i. e.* Senacheribus) Babyloniorum potitus, filium suum Asordanem eis regem imponebat, ipse autem in Assyriam reditum maturabat. Mox quum ad ejus aures rumor esset perlatus, Græcos in Ciliciam coactis

a Greek fleet guarded the Cilician shore, which the vessels of Sennacherib engaged and defeated. Polyhistor seems to say that the Greeks also suffered a defeat by land in Cilicia itself, after which Sennacherib took possession of the country, and built Tarsus there on the model of Babylon.[1] The prominence here given to Greeks by Greek writers is undoubtedly remarkable, and it throws a certain amount of suspicion over the whole story. Still, as the Greek element in Cyprus was certainly important at this time,[2] and as the occupation of Cilicia by the Assyrians may have appeared to the Cyprian Greeks to endanger their independence, it is conceivable that they lent some assistance to the natives of the country, who were a hardy race, fond of freedom, and never very easily brought into subjection.[3] The admission of a double defeat makes it evident that the tale is not the invention of Greek national vanity. Abydenus and Polyhistor probably derive it from Berosus, who must also have made the statement that Tarsus was now founded by Sennacherib, and constructed after the pattern of Babylon. The

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copiis bellum transtulisse, eos protinus aggressus est, prœlioque inito, multis suorum amissis, hostes nihilominus profligavit: suamque imaginem, ut esset victoriæ monumentum, eo loco erectam reliquit; cui Chaldaicis litteris res a se gestas insculpi mandavit ad memoriam temporum sempiternam. Tarsum quoque urbem ab eo structam ait ad Babylonis exemplar, eidemque nomen inditum Tharsin." Abyden. ap. eund. c. ix.:—"His temporibus quintus denique et vigesimus sex fuit Senacheribus, qui Babylonem sibi subdidit, et in Cilicii maris litore classem Græcorum profligatum disjecit. Hic etiam templum Atheniensium (!) struxit. Ærea quoque signa facienda curavit, in quibus sua facinora traditur inscripsisse. Tarsum denique ea forma, qua Babylon utitur, condidit, ita ut media Tarso Cydnus amnis transiret, prorsus ut Babylonem dividit Arazanes."

[1] It is not certain that this means more than the emplacement of the town on both sides of the Cydnus, so that the stream ran through it. (See the parallel passage in Abydenus.)

[2] See below, p. 483, note [8].

[3] Cilicia remained independent at the time of the formation of the Lydian Empire (Herod. i. 28). It had its own kings, and enjoyed a certain amount of independence under the Persians (Ibid. vii. 98; Æschyl. *Pers.* 328-330; Xen. *Anab.* i. 2, § 25).

occupation of newly conquered countries, by the establishment in them of large cities in which foreign colonists were placed by the conquerors, was a practice commenced by Sargon,[4] which his son is not unlikely to have followed. Tarsus was always regarded by the Greeks as an Assyrian town;[5] and though they gave different accounts of the time of its foundation, their disagreement in this respect does not invalidate their evidence as to the main fact itself, which is intrinsically probable. The evidence of Polyhistor and Abydenus as to the date of the foundation, representing, as it must, the testimony of Berosus upon the point, is to be preferred; and we may accept it as a fact, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the native city of St. Paul derived its origin from the antagonist of Hezekiah.[6]

That this Cilician war occurred late in the reign of Sennacherib, appears to follow from the absence of any account of it from his general annals.[7] These, it it is probable, extend no further than his sixteenth year, B.C. 689, thus leaving blank his last eight years, from B.C. 688 to 680. The defeat of the Greeks, the occupation of Cilicia, and the founding of Tarsus, may well have fallen into this interval. To the same time may have belonged Sennacherib's conquest of Edom.[8]

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[4] See above, p. 422.

[5] The Greeks generally ascribed the foundation of Tarsus to Sardanapalus, the best known of the Assyrian monarchs. (See Hellan. Fr. 158; Apollodor. Fr. 69; Strab. xiv. p. 968; Arrian. *Exp. Alex.* ii. 5; Athenæus, *Deipn.* xii. 7; Eustath. ad Dionys. Per. 873.)

[6] It would be an objection to this view if Tarsus were, necessarily or even probably, the Tarshish of Scripture. But it has been shown that Tartessus is far better entitled to that honour. (Twisleton in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. iii. p. 1438.)

[7] In the Epitome of Sennacherib's wars inscribed upon the Koyunjik bulls, there is a statement that he "triumphantly subdued the men of Cilicia inhabiting the inaccessible forests." This epitome dates from the first Susian expedition—ab. B.C. 695. If therefore the war to which it alludes is the same as that mentioned by the Greeks, the date in the text must be modified.

[8] Infra, p. 469.

There is reason to suspect that these successes of Sennacherib's on the western limits of his empire were more than counterbalanced by a contemporaneous loss at the extreme south-east. The Canon of Ptolemy marks the year B.C. 688 as the first of an interregnum at Babylon, which continues from that date till the accession of Esar-haddon in B.C. 680. Interregna in this document—ἔτη ἀβασίλευτα, as they are termed—indicate periods of extreme disturbance, when pretender succeeded to pretender, or when the country was split up into a number of petty kingdoms. The Assyrian yoke, in either case, must have been rejected; and Babylonia must have succeeded at this time in maintaining, for the space of eight years, a separate and independent existence, albeit troubled and precarious. The fact that she continued free so long, while she again succumbed at the very commencement of the reign of Esar-haddon, may lead us to suspect that she owed this spell of liberty to the increasing years of the Assyrian monarch, who, as the infirmities of age crept upon him, felt a disinclination towards distant expeditions.

The military glory of Sennacherib was thus in some degree tarnished; first, by the terrible disaster which befell his host on the borders of Egypt; and, secondly, by his failure to maintain the authority which, in the earlier part of his reign, he had established over Babylon. Still, notwithstanding these misfortunes, he must be pronounced one of the most successful of Assyria's warrior kings, and altogether one of the greatest princes that ever sate on the Assyrian throne. His victories of Altaku and Khaluli seem to have been among the most important battles that Assyria ever gained. By the

one Egypt and Ethiopia, by the other Susiana and Babylon, were taught that, even united, they were no match for the Assyrian hosts. Sennacherib thus wholesomely impressed his most formidable enemies with the dread of his arms; while at the same time he enlarged, in various directions, the limits of his dominions. He warred in regions to which no earlier Assyrian monarch had ever penetrated; and he adopted modes of warfare on which none of them had previously ventured. His defeat of a Greek fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean, and his employment of Phœnicians in the Persian Gulf, show an enterprise and versatility which we observe in few Orientals. His selection of Tarsus for the site of a great city indicates a keen appreciation of the merits of a locality.[9] If he was proud, haughty, and self-confident, beyond all former Assyrian kings,[10] it would seem to have been because he felt that he had resources within himself—that he possessed a firm will, a bold heart, and a fertile invention. Most men would have laid aside the sword and given themselves wholly to peaceful pursuits, after such a disaster as that of Pelusium. Sennacherib accepted the judgment as a warning to attempt no further conquests in those parts, but did not allow the calamity to reduce him to inaction. He wisely turned

[9] On the importance of Tarsus in Greek and Roman times, see Xen. *Anab.* i. 2, § 23; Cæs. *Bell. Alex.* 66; Strab. xiv. p. 960; Dionys. Perieg. l. 869; Solin. 41, &c. *Tersoos* is still a city with a population of 30,000.

[10] Isaiah x. 12-14; 2 Kings xix. 23-28. Sennacherib calls himself in his inscriptions, "the great king, the powerful king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king of the four regions, the diligent ruler, the favourite of the great gods, the observer of sworn faith, the guardian of the law, the embellisher of public buildings, the noble hero, the strong warrior, the first of kings, the punisher of unbelievers, the destroyer of wicked men." (*Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 41; compare *As. Soc. Journ.*, vol. xix. p. 135.)

his sword against other enemies, and was rewarded by important successes upon all his other frontiers.

But if, as a warrior, Sennacherib deserves to be placed in the foremost rank of the Assyrian kings, as a builder and a patron of art he is still more eminent. The great palace which he raised at Nineveh surpassed in size and splendour all earlier edifices, and was never excelled in any respect except by one later building. The palace of Asshur-bani-pal, built on the same platform by the grandson of Sennacherib, was, it must be allowed, more exquisite in its ornamentation; but even this edifice did not equal the great work of Sennacherib in the number of its apartments, or the grandeur of its dimensions. Sennacherib's palace covered an area of above eight acres. It consisted of a number of grand halls and smaller chambers, arranged round at least three courts or quadrangles. These courts were respectively 154 feet by 125, 124 feet by 90, and probably a square of about 90 feet.[1] Round the smallest of the courts were grouped apartments of no great size, which, it may be suspected, belonged to the seraglio of the king. The seraglio seems to have been reached through a single narrow passage,[2] leading out of a long gallery—218 feet by 25[3]—which was approached only through two other passages, one leading from each of the two main courts. The principal halls were immediately within the two chief

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[1] This third or *Hareem* Court was very partially explored. The one side uncovered measured ninety-three feet. Mr. Layard in his restoration (*Nineveh and Babylon*, Plan 1, opp. p. 67) makes the width of the court eighty-four feet, but it may easily have been ninety feet or even more.

[2] It is not quite certain that this passage led to the apartments in question, as it was not explored to the end; but its apparent object was to conduct to the north-west group of chambers.

[3] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 103.

entrances, one on the north-east, the other on the opposite or south-west front of the palace. Neither of these two rooms has been completely explored; but the one appears to have been more than 150 and the other[4] was probably 180 feet in length, while the width of each was a little more than forty feet. Besides these two great halls and the grand gallery already described, the palace contained about twenty rooms of a considerable size, and at least forty or fifty smaller chambers, mostly square, or nearly so, opening out of some hall or large apartment. The actual number of the rooms explored is about sixty;[5] but as in many parts the examination of the building is still incomplete, we may fairly conjecture that the entire number was not less than seventy or eighty.

The palace of Sennacherib preserved all the main features of Assyrian architecture. It was elevated on a platform, eighty or ninety feet above the plain, artificially constructed and covered with a pavement of bricks. It had probably three grand façades, one on the north-east, where it was ordinarily approached from the town,[6] and the two others on the south-east and the south-west, where it was carried nearly to the edge of the platform, and overhung the two streams of the Khosr-su and the Tigris. Its principal apartment was that which was first entered by the visitor. All the walls ran in straight lines, and all the angles of the rooms and passages were right

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[4] This hall was traced to a distance of 160 feet. Assuming that it had the same sort of correspondence and regularity as the halls at Khorsabad, its entire length must have been 180 feet.

[5] Mr. Layard counts seventy-one chambers; but he includes in this estimate the three courts, the long gallery, four passages, and four rooms which were imagined rather than proved to exist.

[6] Two great ravines on this side probably mark the position of flights of steps, or inclined ways, which led up to the platform from the lower level of the city.

angles. There were more passages in the building than usual;[7] but still the apartments very frequently opened into one another; and almost one half of the rooms were passage-rooms. The doorways were mostly placed without any regard to regularity, seldom opposite to one another, and generally towards the corners of the apartments. There was the curious feature, so common in Assyrian edifices, of a room being entered from a court, or from another room, by two or three doorways;[8] which is best explained by supposing that the rank of the person determined the door by which he might enter. Squared recesses in the sides of the rooms were common. The thickness of the walls was great. The apartments, though wider than in other palaces, were still narrow for their length, never much exceeding forty feet; while the courts were much better proportioned.

It was in the size and the number of his rooms, in his use of passages, and in certain features of his ornamentation, that Sennacherib chiefly differed from former builders. He increased the width of the principal state apartments by one-third, which seems to imply the employment of some new mode or material for roofing.[9] In their length he made less alteration, only advancing from 150 to 180 feet, evidently because he aimed, not merely at increasing the size of his rooms, but at improving their proportions. In one instance alone—that of a gallery or passage-room, leading (apparently) from the more

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[7] On the rare use of passages by the Assyrians, see above, vol. i. p. 357.

[8] So at Khorsabad (vol. i. p. 352) and at Nimrud (supra, p. 348).

[9] Sennacherib used foreign timber in his palace to a large extent, cutting it in Lebanon and Amanus. Perhaps, by choosing the tallest trees, he was able to span with single beams the wide space of forty-one or forty-two feet. (See vol. i. p. 385.)

public part of the palace to the *hareem* or private apartments—did he exceed this length, uniting the two portions of the palace by a noble corridor, 218 feet long by twenty-five wide. Into this corridor he brought passages from the two public courts, which he also united together by a third passage, thus greatly facilitating communication between the various blocks of building which composed his vast palatial edifice.

The most striking characteristic of Sennacherib's ornamentation is its strong and marked realism. It was under Sennacherib that the practice first obtained of completing each scene by a background,[10] such as actually existed at the time and place of its occurrence. Mountains, rocks, trees, roads, rivers, lakes, were regularly portrayed, an attempt being made to represent the locality, whatever it might be, as truthfully as the artist's skill and the character of his material rendered possible. Nor was this endeavour limited to the broad and general features of the scene only. The wish evidently was to include all the little accessories which the observant eye of an artist might have noted if he had made his drawing with the scene before him. The species of trees is distinguished in Sennacherib's bas-reliefs; gardens, fields, ponds, reeds, are carefully represented; wild animals are introduced, as stags, boars, and antelopes; birds fly from tree to tree, or stand over their nests feeding the young who stretch up to them; fish disport themselves in the waters; fishermen ply their

[10] Backgrounds occur, but very rarely, in the reliefs of Asshur-idannipal (Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 15, 16, and 33). They are employed more largely by Sargon (Botta, *Monuments*, Pls. 31 to 35, and 108 to 114); but even then they continue the exception. With Sennacherib they become the rule, and at the same time they increase greatly in elaboration.

craft; boatmen and agricultural labourers pursue their avocations; the scene is, as it were, photographed, with all its features—the least and the most important—equally marked, and without any attempt at selection, or any effort after artistic unity.

In the same spirit of realism Sennacherib chooses for artistic representation scenes of a common-place and every-day character. The trains of attendants who daily enter his palace with game and locusts for his dinner, and cakes and fruit for his dessert, appear on the walls of his passages,[1] exactly as they walked through his courts, bearing the delicacies in which he delighted. Elsewhere he puts before us the entire process of carving and transporting a colossal bull, from the first removal of the huge stone in its rough state from the quarry, to its final elevation on a palace mound as part of the great gateway of a royal residence. We see the trackers dragging the rough block, supported on a low flat-bottomed boat, along the course of a river, disposed in gangs, and working under taskmasters who use their rods upon the slightest provocation. The whole scene must be represented, and so the trackers are all there, to the number of three hundred, costumed according to their nations, and each delineated with as much care as if he were not the exact image of ninety-nine others. We then observe the block transferred to land, and carved into the rough semblance of a bull, in which form it is placed on a rude sledge and conveyed along level ground by gangs of labourers, arranged nearly as before, to the foot of the mound at whose top it has to be placed. The construction of the mound is most

[1] For a representation see Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pls. 8 and 9; compare *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 338-340.

elaborately represented. Brickmakers are seen moulding the bricks at its base, while workmen with baskets at their backs, full of earth, bricks, stones, or rubbish, toil up the ascent—for the mound is already half raised—and empty their burdens out upon the summit. The bull, still lying on its sledge, is then drawn up an inclined plane to the top by four gangs of labourers, in the presence of the monarch and his attendants. After this the carving is completed, and the colossus, having been raised into an upright position, is conveyed along the surface of the platform to the exact site which it is to occupy.[2] This portion of the operation has been represented in one of the woodcuts contained in the first volume.[3] From the representation there given the reader may form a notion of the minuteness and elaboration of this entire series of bas-reliefs.

Besides constructing this new palace at Nineveh, Sennacherib seems also to have restored the ancient residence of the kings at the same place,[4] a building which will probably be found whenever the mound of Nebbi-Yunus is submitted to careful examination. He confined the Tigris to its channel by an embankment of bricks.[5] He constructed a number of canals or aqueducts for the purpose of bringing good water to the capital.[6] He improved the defences of Nineveh, erecting towers of a vast size at some of the gates.[7] And, finally, he built a temple to the

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[2] Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pls. 10 to 17.

[3] Supra, vol. i. p. 497.

[4] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 7; *As. Soc. Journal*, vol. xix. p. 166.

[5] *Assyrian Texts*, l. s. c.

[6] Ibid. p. 8.

[7] The great gate of Nineveh, described in the first volume of this work (p. 323), was composed of bricks marked with Sennacherib's name (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 123). Another similar gateway in the Eastern wall (ibid.) was probably his; and his bricks have also been found along the curtain of the east side of the city.

god Nergal at Tarbisi (now Sherif Khan), about three miles from Nineveh, up the Tigris.

In the construction of these great works he made use, chiefly, of the forced labour with which his triumphant expeditions into foreign countries had so abundantly supplied him. Chaldæans, Aramæans, Armenians, Cilicians,[8] and probably also Egyptians, Ethiopians, Elamites, and Jews, were employed by thousands in the formation of the vast mounds, in the transport and elevation of the colossal bulls, in the moulding of the bricks, and the erection of the walls of the various edifices, in the excavation of the canals, and the construction of the embankments. They wrought in gangs, each gang having a costume peculiar to it,[9] which probably marked its nation. Over each were placed a number of task-masters, armed with staves, who urged on the work with blows,[10] and severely punished any neglect or remissness. Assyrian foremen had the general direction of the works, and were entrusted with all such portions as required skill or judgment.[11] The forced labourers often worked in fetters, which were sometimes supported by a bar fastened to the waist, while sometimes they consisted merely of shackles round the ankles. The king himself often witnessed the labours, standing in his chariot, which, on these occasions, was drawn by some of his attendants.[12]

The Assyrian monuments throw no light on the

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[8] On the Bellino Cylinder Sennacherib tells us that he employed these four races, together with the *Quhu* (Coans), on his great works. (*Assyrian Texts*, pp. 6, 7.) From a bull-inscription we learn that the number of Aramæans carried off as slaves in one raid was 208,000. (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 141.)

[9] Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pls. 10, 11, 13, 15, and 16.

[10] The same practice prevailed in Persia (Herod. vii. 22); and there must be something akin to it wherever forced labour is used.

[11] See above, p. 223.

[12] Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pls. 12 and 15.

circumstances which led to the assassination of Sennacherib; and we are reduced to conjecture the causes of so strange an event. Our various sources of information make it clear that he had a large family of sons. The eldest of them, Asshur-inadi-su, had been entrusted by Sennacherib with the government of Babylon,[13] and might reasonably have expected to succeed him on the throne of Assyria; but it is probable that he died before his father, either by a natural death, or by violence, during one of the many Babylonian revolts. It may be suspected that Sennacherib had a second son, of whose name Nergal was the first element;[1] and it is certain that he had three others, Adrammelech (or Ardumuzanes),[2] Sharezer, and Esar-haddon. Perhaps, upon the death of Asshur-inadi-su, disputes arose about the succession. Adrammelech and Sharezer, anxious to obtain the throne for themselves, plotted against the life of their father, and having slain him in a temple as he was worshipping,[3] proceeded further to remove their brother Nergilus, who claimed the crown and wore it for a brief space after Sennacherib's death.[4] Having murdered him, they expected to obtain the throne without further difficulty; but Esar-haddon now came forward and was favourably received—the murderers found that

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[13] Supra, p. 439.

[1] Abydenus, who alone mentions this Nergilus, omits to state his relationship to Sennacherib. He makes him the father of Adrammelech and Esar-haddon (Axerdis), which is certainly incorrect. In the text I have followed probability.

[2] The Adrammelech of Scripture (2 Kings xix. 37; Is. xxxvii. 38) is mentioned as Adrameles by Abydenus (Euseb. *Chron. Can.* Pars 1ma, c. ix.), and as Adramelus by Moses of Chorene (*Hist. Armen.* i. 22). This latter writer calls him also Argamozanus (ibid.), while Polyhistor gives his name as Ardumuzanes (ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* Pars 1ma. c. v. § 1).

[3] 2 Kings, l. s. c.

[4] See Abydenus, l. s. c. "Proximus huic (i.e. Senacheribo) regnavit Nergilus, quem Adrameles filius (?) occidit."

they had miscalculated—and they therefore at once quitted Assyria and fled to Armenia,[5] where they were kindly treated by the reigning monarch, who gave them lands which long continued in the possession of their posterity.[6] Esar-haddon was then acknowledged as king by the whole nation.

It was a sad end to a reign which, on the whole, had been so glorious; and it was a sign that the empire was now verging on that decline which sooner or later overtakes all kingdoms, and indeed all things sublunary. Against plots from without, arising from the ambition of subjects who see, or think they see, at any particular juncture, an opportunity of seizing the great prize of supreme dominion, it is impossible, even in the most vigorous empire, to provide any complete security. But during the period of vigour, harmony exists within the palace, and confidence in each other inspires and unites all the members of the royal house. When discord has once entered inside the gates, when the family no longer holds together, when suspicion and jealousy have replaced the trust and affection of a happier time, the empire has passed into the declining stage, and has already begun the descent which conducts, by quick or slow degrees, to destruction. The murder of Sennacherib, if it was, as perhaps it was, a judgment on the individual,[7] was, at least equally, a judgment on the nation. When, in an absolute monarchy, the palace becomes the scene of the worst crimes, the doom of the kingdom is sealed—it totters to its fall—and requires but

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[5] 2 Kings, l. s. c. Mos. Chor. l. s. c. "Eum vero (i.e. Senecharimum) filii ejus Adrammelus et Sanasarus ubi interfecerunt, ad nos confugere."

[6] Mos. Chor. l. s. c.

[7] See 2 Kings xix. 7, and 37.

a touch from without to collapse into a heap of ruins.

Esar-haddon, the son and successor of Sennacherib, is proved by the Assyrian Canon to have ascended the throne of Assyria in the same year in which the Canon of Ptolemy states that he became king of Babylon, viz., B.C. 680. He was succeeded by his son, Asshur-bani-pal or Sardanapalus, in B.C. 667, and thus held the crown no more than thirteen years. According to Abydenus, he was engaged for some time after his accession in a war with Adrammelech, his half-brother, who, at the head of a body of mercenary troops, levied probably in Armenia, disputed his right to the crown.[8] Esar-haddon, it is to be supposed, defeated this army, for he took Adrammelech prisoner and put him to death, after which he drove the mercenaries beyond his borders. In the same year, apparently, he must have been acknowledged king of Babylon.

The chief record which we possess of Esar-haddon is a cylinder inscription, existing in duplicate,[9] which describes about nine campaigns, and may probably have been composed in or about his tenth year. A cylinder of his son's adds to this some important information with respect to the latter part of his reign.[10] One or two notices in the Old Testament connect him with the history of the Jews.[11] And

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[8] Abydenus, l. s. c. "Hunc (i.e. Adramelem) frater suus Axerdis interfecit, patre eodem alia tamen matre genitus, atque Byzantium (?) usque ejus exercitum persecutus est quem antea mercede conduxerat auxiliarem."

[9] *British Museum Series*, Pls. 45 to 47. Both copies of the cylinder are imperfect; but together they supply a very tolerable text. M. Oppert has translated the second in his *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, pp. 53-60.

[10] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Illustrations of Egyptian History and Chronology from the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 23.

[11] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11; Ezra iv. 2.

Abydenus, besides the passage already quoted, has an allusion to some of his foreign conquests.[12] Such are the materials from which the modern inquirer has to reconstruct the history of this great king.

It appears that the first expedition of Esar-haddon was into Phœnicia. Abdi-Milkut king of Sidon, and Sandu-arra king of the adjoining part of Lebanon, had formed an alliance and revolted from the Assyrians, probably during the troubles which ensued on Sennacherib's death. Esar-haddon attacked Sidon first, and soon took the city; but Abdi-Milkut made his escape to an island—Aradus or Cyprus—where, perhaps, he thought himself secure. Esar-haddon, however, determined on pursuit. He traversed the sea "like a fish,"[13] and made Abdi-Milkut[14] prisoner; after which he turned his arms against Sandu-arra, attacked him in the fastnesses of his mountains, defeated his troops, and possessed himself of his person. The rebellion of the two captive kings was punished by their execution; the walls of Sidon were destroyed; its inhabitants, and those of the whole tract of coast in the neighbourhood, were carried off into Assyria, and thence scattered among the provinces; a new town was built, which was named after Esar-haddon, and was intended to take the place of Sidon as the chief city of these parts; and colonists were brought from Chaldæa and Susiana to occupy the new capital and the adjoining region.

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[12] Abyden. ap. Euseb. l. s. c. "Ægyptum præterea partesque interiores Syriæ acquirebat Axerdis."

[13] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 54.

[14] The name Abdistartus occurs among the kings of Tyre mentioned by Menander (Fr. 1). Abdi-Milkut, or Abed-Melkarth, is formed on the same model, and would mean "Servant of Melkarth" (Hercules), just as Abdistartus is "Servant of Ishtar" (Venus). Compare Abdiel, Abdallah, Obadiah, &c.

An Assyrian governor was appointed to administer the conquered province.[15]

Esar-haddon's next campaign seems to have been in Armenia. He took a city called Arza-**, which, he says, was in the neighbourhood of Muzr,[16] and carried off the inhabitants, together with a number of mountain animals, placing the former in a position "beyond the eastern gate of Nineveh." At the same time he received the submission of Tiuspa the Cimmerian.[17]

His third campaign was in Cilicia and the adjoining regions. The Cilicians, whom Sennacherib had so recently subdued,[1] reasserted their independence at his death, and allied themselves with the Tibareni, or people of Tubal, who possessed the high mountain tract about the junction of Amanus and Taurus. Esar-haddon inflicted a defeat on the Cilicians, and then invaded the mountain region, where he took twenty-one towns and a larger number of villages, all of which he plundered and burnt. The inhabitants he carried away captive, as usual; but he made no attempt to hold the ravaged districts by means of new cities or fresh colonists.[2]

This expedition was followed by one or two petty wars in the north-west and the north-east;[3] after

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[15] It was probably with special reference to this campaign and conquest that Abydenus spoke of Esar-haddon as having added to the empire "the more inland parts of Syria." (See above, p. 467, note [12].)

[16] M. Oppert understands Egypt here (*Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 54); but Sir H. Rawlinson has shown that the Eastern Muzr must be meant. (*Illustrations*, &c. p. 21.)

[17] This is the first mention of Cimmerians in the Assyrian Inscriptions. Herodotus places the great Cimmerian invasion of Asia in the reign of Ardys the Lydian, which, according to him, was from B.C. 686 to B.C. 637. The name of Tiuspa is curiously near to Teispes, who must have been king of Persia about this time.

[1] Supra, p. 453.

[2] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, pp. 54, 55; *Assyrian Texts*, pp. 11, 12.

[3] The scene of the first of these wars was Northern Syria; the second

which Esar-haddon, probably about his sixth year—B.C. 675, made an expedition into Chaldæa. It appears that a son of Merodach-Baladan, Nebo-zirzi-sidi by name, had re-established himself on the Chaldæan coast, by the help of the Susianians; while his brother, Nahid-Marduk, had thought it more prudent to court the favour of the great Assyrian monarch, and had quitted his refuge in Susiana to present himself before Esar-haddon's footstool at Nineveh. This judicious step had all the success that he could have expected or desired. Esar-haddon, having conquered and slain the ill-judging Nebo-zirzi-sidi, made over to the more clear-sighted Nahid-Marduk the whole of the maritime region that had been ruled by his brother. At the same time the Assyrian monarch deposed a Chaldæan prince who had established his authority over a small town in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and set up another in his place,[4] thus pursuing the same system of division in Babylonia which we shall hereafter find that he pursued in Egypt.[5]

Esar-haddon after this was engaged in a war with Edom. He there took a city which bore the same name as the country—a city previously, he tells us, taken by his father[6]—and transported the inhabitants into Assyria, at the same time carrying off certain images of the Edomite gods. Hereupon the king, who was named Hazael, sent an embassy to Nineveh, to make submission and offer presents, while at the same time he supplicated Esar-haddon to restore his gods and allow them to be conveyed back to their own

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was in South-Eastern Armenia—against the Mannai or Minni.

[4] The name of the Chaldæan prince deposed is read as Shamas-ipni; his successor was Nebo-sallim, the son of Balazu (Belesys).

[5] Infra, p. 475.

[6] Supra, p. 454.

proper country.[7] Esar-haddon granted the request, and restored the images to the envoy; but as a compensation for this boon, he demanded an increase of the annual tribute, which was augmented in consequence by sixty-five camels. He also nominated to the Edomite throne, either in succession or in joint sovereignty, a female named Tabua, who had been born and brought up in his own palace.[8]

The expedition next mentioned on Esar-haddon's cylinder is one presenting some difficulty. The scene of it is a country called Bazu, which is said to be "remote, on the extreme confines of the earth, on the other side of the desert."[9] It was reached by traversing a hundred and forty *farsakhs* (490 miles) of sandy desert, then twenty *farsakhs* (70 miles) of fertile land, and beyond that a stony region. None of the kings of Assyria, down to the time of Esar-haddon, had ever penetrated so far. Bazu lay beyond Khazu, which was the name of the stony tract, and Bazu had for its chief town a city called Yedih, which was under the rule of a king named Lailé. It is thought, from the combination of these names,[10] and from the general description

[7] This appeal recalls Laban's address to Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 30), when Rachel had "stolen his gods."

[8] Is this a trace of a system like that which the Romans adopted in the case of the Parthians and Armenians during the early part of the empire? (See Tacit. *Ann.* ii. 2.) Was Tabua an Arabian princess, taken as an hostage, and so bred up in the palace of the Assyrian king? It is highly improbable that she was a native Assyrian.

[9] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 56.

[10] The combination of Bazu and Khazu closely resembles that of Huz and Buz (Gen. xxii. 21). That Huz and Buz both gave names to countries is apparent from the Book of Job (i. 1, and xxxi. 2); and both countries seem to have been in Arabia. (See Jer. xxv. 25, and cf. Smith's *Biblical Dictionary* ad vocc.) Bazu, it may be noted, is the nearest possible Assyrian representation of the Hebrew בּוּז. The names of the king, Lailé, and of the other potentates mentioned, are thoroughly Arabic, as are also the places, some of which are well known. The entire list is as follows:—*Kitsu* (Keis), king of *Khaltil*; *Akbaru* (Acbar), king of *Dupiyat*; *Khabizu*, king

of the region—of its remoteness and of the way in which it was reached—that it was probably the district of Arabia beyond Nedjif which lies along the Jebel Shammer and corresponds closely with the modern Arab kingdom of Hira. Esar-haddon boasts that he marched into the middle of the territory, that he slew eight of its sovereigns, and carried into Assyria their gods, their treasures, and their subjects; and that, though Lailé escaped him, he too lost his gods, which were seized and conveyed to Nineveh. Then Lailé, like the Idumæan monarch above mentioned, felt it necessary to humble himself. He went in person to the Assyrian capital, prostrated himself before the royal footstool, and entreated for the restoration of his gods; which Esar-haddon consented to give back, but solely on the condition that Lailé became thenceforth one of his tributaries.[11]

If this expedition was really carried into the quarter here supposed, Esar-haddon performed a feat never paralleled in history, excepting by Augustus [12] and Nushirvan.[13] He led an army across the deserts which everywhere guard Arabia on the land side, and penetrated to the more fertile tracts beyond them, a region of settled inhabitants and of cities. He there took and spoiled several towns; and he returned to his own country without suffering disaster. Considering the physical perils of the desert itself, and the warlike character of its in-

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of *Qadatsia* (Qadessiyeh); *Yelua*, queen of *Dihyan*; *Mannuki*, king of *Maraban* (?); *Tabkharu*, king of *Gahvan*; *Leilu*, queen of *Yakhilu*; and *Khabaziru*, king of *Sidah*.

[11] *Inscriptions*, &c., l. s. c.

[12] It has been disputed how far the expedition of Ælius Gallus in the reign of Augustus (Strab. xvi. pp. 1107-1110) penetrated. According to some it reached Yemen; according to others, it proceeded no further than the eastern foot of the great Nejd chain. (See a note by Dr. W. Smith in his edition of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, vol. i. pp. 138, 139.)

[13] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. v. p. 364, Smith's edition.

habitants, whom no conqueror has ever really subdued, this was a most remarkable success. The dangers of the simoom may have been exaggerated, and the total aridity of the northern region may have been over-stated by many writers;[14] but the difficulty of carrying water and provisions for a large army, and the peril of a plunge into the wilderness with a small one, can scarcely be stated in too strong terms, and have proved sufficient to deter most Eastern conquerors from even the thoughts of an Arabian expedition. Alexander would, perhaps, had he lived, have attempted an invasion from the side of the Persian Gulf;[15] and Trajan actually succeeded in bringing under the Roman yoke an outlying portion of the country—the district between Damascus and the Red Sea; but Arabia has been deeply penetrated thrice only in the history of the world; and Esarhaddon is the sole monarch who ever ventured to conduct in person such an attack.

From the arid regions of the great peninsula Esarhaddon proceeded, probably in another year, to the invasion of the marsh-country on the Euphrates, where the Aramæan tribe of the Gambulu[1] had their habitations, dwelling (he tells us) "like fish, in the midst of the waters"[2]—doubtless much after the fashion of the modern Khuzeyl and Affej Arabs,[3] the latter of whom inhabit nearly the same tract.

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[14] Stuart Poole in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 92. Much of Nejd is no doubt a good grazing country, and the best horses in the world are bred in it. But still large portions are desert, and the outskirts of Arabia on the north and east are still more arid and desolate.

[15] Arrian, *Exped. Alex.* vii. 19, sub fin.

[1] See above, p. 419, note [11], and compare pp. 430 and 452.

[2] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 56.

[3] On the Khuzeyl see Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, pp. 38-40; on the Affej, see the same work, pp. 91-93, and Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 551-555. Compare also the present work, vol. i. pp. 46, 47.

The sheikh of this tribe had revolted; but on the approach of the Assyrians he submitted himself, bringing in person the arrears of his tribute and a present of buffaloes (?),[4] whereby he sought to propitiate the wrath of his suzerain. Esar-haddon states that he forgave him; that he strengthened his capital with fresh works, placed a garrison in it, and made it a stronghold to protect the territory against the attacks of the Susianians.

The last expedition mentioned on the cylinder, which seems not to have been conducted by the king in person, was against the country of Bikni or Bikan, one of the more remote regions of Media—perhaps Azerbijan.[5] No Assyrian monarch before Esar-haddon had ever invaded this region. It was under the government of a number of chiefs—the Arian character of whose names is unmistakeable [6]—each of whom ruled over his own town and the adjacent district. Esar-haddon seized two of the chiefs and carried them off to Assyria, whereupon several others made their submission, consenting to pay a tribute and to divide their authority with Assyrian officers.[7]

It is probable that these various expeditions occupied Esar-haddon from B.C. 680, the year of his accession, to B.C. 670, when it is likely that they were recorded on the existing cylinder. The expeditions are ten in number, directed against countries remote from one another; and each may well have

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[4] Cattle of some kind or other are certainly mentioned. The marsh region is the special resort of the buffalo. (Layard, p. 553.)

[5] The *-bijan* or *-bigan* of Azerbijan may possibly represent the *Bikan* of the inscriptions. Azerbijan can scarcely be, as commonly supposed, a corruption of Atropatêné.

[6] *E. g.* Sitirparna or Sitraphernes, Eparna or Ophernes, Ramatiya or Ramates, and Zanasana or Zanasanes.

[7] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 57.

occupied an entire year. There would thus remain only three more years of the king's reign, after the termination of the chief native record, during which his history has to be learnt from other sources. Into this space falls, almost certainly, the greatest of Esar-haddon's exploits—the conquest of Egypt; and, probably, one of the most interesting episodes of his reign—the punishment and pardon of Manasseh. With the consideration of these two events the military history of his reign will terminate.

The conquest of Egypt by Esar-haddon, though concealed from Herodotus, and not known even to Diodorus, was no secret to the more learned Greeks, who probably found an account of the expedition in the great work of Berosus.[8] All that we know of its circumstances is derived from a short notice in the annals of Esar-haddon's son and successor, Asshur-bani-pal, who finds it necessary to make an allusion to the former doings of his father in Egypt, in order to render intelligible the state of affairs when he himself invades the country. According to this notice, it would appear that Esar-haddon, having entered Egypt with a large army, gained a great battle over the forces of Tirhakah in the lower country, after which he proceeded southwards, took the city where the Ethiopian held his court,[9] received the submission of

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[8] See the passage of Abydenus above quoted, p. 467, note [12]. Abydenus, it is almost certain, drew from Berosus.

[9] It is probable that this city was Thebes; but the monument is unfortunately illegible just in this place. Thebes was certainly captured at this time; and it is either to this capture or to a subsequent one under Esar-haddon's son that the prophet Nahum alludes when threatening Nineveh—"Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it; whose rampart was the flood (יָם), and her wall from the flood? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; Put and Lubim were thy helpers. Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity; her young

the other principal towns, and thus became master of Egypt, at least as far as Thebes or Diospolis, the No or No-Amon of Scripture.[10] He then broke up the country into at least twenty governments, appointing in each town a ruler who bore the title of king, but placing all the others to a certain extent under the authority of the prince who reigned at Memphis. This was Neco, the father of Psammetichus (Psamatik I.)—a native Egyptian, of whom we have some mention both in Herodotus[11] and in the fragments of Manetho.[12] The remaining rulers were likewise, for the most part, native Egyptians; though in two or three instances the governments appear to have been committed to Assyrian officers.[13] Esar-haddon having made these arrangements, returned to his own country, and proceeded to introduce sphinxes into the ornamentation of his palaces,[14] while, at the same time, he attached to his former titles an additional clause, in which he declared himself to be "king of the kings of Egypt, and conqueror of Ethiopia."[15]

The revolt of Manasseh king of Judah may have happened shortly before or shortly after the conquest of Egypt. It was not regarded as of sufficient importance to call for the personal intervention of

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children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets: and they cast lots for her honourable men; and all her great men were bound in chains." (Ch. iii. 8-10.)

[10] On the question of identity see Mr. Stuart Poole's article in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 576.

[11] Herod. ii. 152.

[12] Manetho ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* Pars 1ma, c. xx. p. 10.

[13] See Sir H. Rawlinson's paper in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, New Series, vol. vii. p. 136 et seqq.

[14] Infra, pp. 481, 482; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. p. 348.

[15] This title, which does not appear on the cylinder, is found on the back of the slabs at the entrance of the S.W. palace at Nimrud, where the sphinxes appear; on a bronze lion dug up at Nebbi Yunus; and on the slabs of the palace which Esar-haddon built at Sherif Khan.

the Assyrian monarch. The "captains of the host of the king of Assyria" were entrusted with the task of Manasseh's subjection; and, proceeding into Judæa, they "took him among the thorns, and bound him with chains, and carried him to Babylon,"[16] where Esar-haddon had built himself a palace, and often held his court.[17] The Great King at first treated his prisoner severely; and the "affliction" which he thus suffered is said to have broken his pride and caused him to humble himself before God,[18] and to repent of all the cruelties and idolatries which had brought this judgment upon him. Then God "was entreated of him, and heard his supplication, and brought him back again to Jerusalem into his kingdom."[19] The crime of defection was overlooked by the Assyrian monarch;[20] Manasseh was pardoned, and sent back to Jerusalem; where he was allowed to resume the reins of government, but on the condition, if we may judge by the usual practice of the Assyrians in such cases, of paying an increased tribute.[21]

It may have been in connection with this restoration of Manasseh to his throne—an act of doubtful policy from an Assyrian point of view—that Esar-haddon determined on a project by which the hold of Assyria upon Palestine was considerably strengthened. Sargon, as has been already observed,[1] when he removed the Israelites from Samaria, supplied their

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[16] 2 Chron. xxxiii 11.

[17] It is this circumstance that serves to fix the Captivity of Manasseh to the reign of Esar-haddon. Otherwise it might as well have fallen into the reign of his son.

[18] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 12.

[19] Ibid. verse 13.

[20] It has been supposed that Manasseh may have been released by Esar-haddon's successor, as Jehoiachin was by Nebuchadnezzar's. (Ewald, *Geschichte d. Volkes Israel*, vol. iii. p. 678.) And this is certainly possible. But it is a mere conjecture.

[21] See above, pp. 339, 342, &c.

[1] Supra, p. 423.

place by colonists from Babylon, Cutha, Sippara, Ava, Hamath,[2] and Arabia;[3] thus planting a foreign garrison in the region, which would be likely to preserve its fidelity. Esar-haddon resolved to strengthen the foreign element. He gathered men[4] from Babylon, Orchoë, Susa, Elymais, Persia, and other neighbouring regions, and entrusting them to an officer of high rank—"the great and noble Asnapper"—had them conveyed to Palestine and settled over the whole country, which until this time must have been somewhat thinly peopled.[5] The restoration of Manasseh, and the augmentation of the foreign element in Palestine, are thus portions, but counter-balancing portions, of one scheme—a scheme, the sole object of which was the pacification of the empire by whatever means, gentle or severe, seemed best calculated to effect the purpose.

Of the architecture of Esar-haddon, and of the state of the arts generally in his time, it is difficult to speak positively. Though he appears to have been one of the most indefatigable constructors of great works that Assyria produced, having erected during

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[2] See 2 Kings xvii. 24.

[3] Supra, p. 415.

[4] It has been usually supposed that the colonization to which reference is made in Ezra iv. 2, 9, is the same as that whereof an account is given in 2 Kings xvii. 24. But a comparison of the places named will show that the two colonizations are quite distinct. Sargon brought his colonists from Hamath in Cœle-Syria, and from four cities in Babylonia—Babylon itself, Cutha, Sippara, and Ava or Ivah. Esar-haddon brought his mainly from Susiana and the countries still further to the east. They were Susianians, Elymæans, Persians (אַפַרְסָיֵא), Dai (דָּהָוֵא), &c. Those of Esar-haddon's colonists who were furnished by Babylonia came from Babylon and Erech, or Orchoë. The Dinaites (דיניא) were probably from *Dayan*, a country often mentioned in the Inscriptions, which must have adjoined on Cilicia. The Tarpelites and the Apharsathchites are still unrecognized.

[5] When wild beasts multiply in a country, we may be sure that its human occupants are diminishing. The danger from lions, of which the first colonists complained to Sargon, is indicative of the depopulation produced by his conquests. (See 2 Kings xvii. 25, 26.)

the short period over which his reign extended no fewer than three palaces and above thirty temples;[6] yet it happens unfortunately that we are not as yet in a condition to pronounce a decisive judgment, either on the plan of his buildings or on the merits of their ornamentation. Of his three palaces, which were situated at Babylon, Calah, and Nineveh, one only—that at Calah or Nimrud—has been to any large extent explored. Even in this case the exploration was far from complete, and the ground-plan of the palace is still very defective. But this is not the worst. The palace itself had never been finished;[7] its ornamentation had scarcely begun; and the little of this that was original had been so damaged by a furious conflagration, that it perished almost at the moment of discovery.[8] We are thus reduced to judge of the sculptures of Esar-haddon by the reports of those who saw them ere they fell to pieces, and by one or two drawings, while we have to form our conception of his buildings from a half-explored fragment of a half-finished palace, which was moreover destroyed by fire before completion.

The palace of Esar-haddon at Calah was built at the south-western corner of the Nimrud mound, abutting towards the west on the Tigris, and towards the south on the valley formed by the Shor-Derreh torrent. It faced northwards, and was entered on this side from the open space of the platform, through a portal guarded by two winged bulls of the ordinary

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[6] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 57; *Assyrian Texts*, p. 16. Sir H. Rawlinson reads this passage differently. He understands Esar-haddon to say that he "repaired ten of the high-places or strongholds of Assyria and Babylonia."

[7] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 30.

[8] Ibid. vol. i. p. 349.

character. The visitor on entering found himself in a large court, 280 feet by 100,[9] bounded on the south side by a mere wall, but on the other three sides surrounded by buildings. The main building was opposite to him, and was entered from the court by two portals, one directly facing the great southern gate of the court, and the other a little to the left hand, the former guarded by colossal bulls, the latter merely revetted with slabs. These portals both led into the same room—the room already described in the first volume of this work [10]—which was designed on the most magnificent scale of all the Assyrian apartments, but was so broken up through the inability of the architect to roof in a wide space without abundant supports, that, practically, it formed rather a suite of four moderate-sized chambers than a single grand hall. The plan of this apartment will be seen by reference to the former volume (p. 354). Viewed as a single apartment, the room was 165 feet in length by sixty-two feet in width, and thus contained an area of 10,230 square feet, a space nearly half as large again as that covered by the greatest of the halls of Sennacherib, which was 7200 feet. Viewed as a suite of chambers, the rooms may be described as two long and narrow halls running parallel to one another, and communicating by a grand doorway in the middle, with two smaller chambers placed at the two ends, running at right angles to the principal ones. The smaller chambers were sixty-two feet long, and respectively nineteen and twenty-three feet wide; the larger ones were 110 feet long, with a width respectively of twenty

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[9] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 654. [10] See above, vol. i. p. 354.

and twenty-eight feet.[11] The inner of the two long parallel chambers communicated by a grand doorway, guarded by sphinxes and colossal lions, either with a small court or with a large chamber extending to the southern edge of the mound;[12] and the two end rooms communicated with smaller apartments in the same direction. The buildings to the right and left of the great court seem to have been entirely separate from those at its southern end: to the left they were wholly unexamined; on the right some explorations were conducted, which gave the usual result of long narrow apartments, with perhaps one or two passages. The extent of the palace westward, southward, and eastward is uncertain: eastward it was unexplored; southward and westward the mound had been eaten into by the Tigris and the Shor-Derreh torrent.[13]

The walls of Esar-haddon's palace were composed, in the usual way, of sun-dried bricks revetted with slabs of alabaster. Instead, however, of quarrying fresh alabaster slabs for the purpose, the king pre-

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[11] Mr. Fergusson seems to be of opinion that the divisions which broke up this grand room into four parts would not have greatly interfered with the general effect. His account of the apartment is as follows:—

"Its general dimensions are 165 feet in length, by 62 feet in width; and it consequently is the largest hall yet found in Assyria. The architects, however, do not seem to have been quite equal to roofing so large a space, even with the number of pillars with which they seem usually to have crowded their floors (?); and it is consequently divided down the centre by a wall supporting dwarf columns (?), forming a centre gallery (?), to which access was had (?) by bridge galleries at both ends, a mode of arrangement capable of great variety and picturesqueness of effect, and of which I have little doubt that the builders availed themselves to the fullest extent." (*Handbook of Architecture*, vol. i. pp. 176, 177.)

[12] The excavations here were incomplete. Mr. Layard seems to imagine that he uncovered the southern façade of the building (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 655); but his plan (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. opp. p. 34) rather indicates the existence of further rooms in this direction.

[13] Supra, vol. i. p. 252. Compare *As. Soc. Journal*, vol. xv. p. 347.

ferred to make use of those which were already on the summit of the mound, covering the walls of the north-western and central palaces, which, no doubt, had fallen into decay. His workmen tore down these sculptured monuments from their original position, and transferring them to the site of the new palace, arranged them so as to cover the freshly raised walls, generally placing the carved side against the crude brick, and leaving the back exposed to receive fresh sculptures, but sometimes exposing the old sculpture, which, however, in such cases, it was probably intended to remove by the chisel.[1] This process was still going on, when either Esar-haddon died and the works were stopped, or the palace was destroyed by fire. Scarcely any of the new sculptures had been executed. The only exceptions were the bulls and lions at the various portals,[2] a few reliefs in close proximity to them,[3] and some complete figures of crouching sphinxes,[4] which had been placed as ornaments, and possibly also as the bases of supports, within the span of the two widest doorways. There was nothing very remarkable about the bulls; the lions were spirited, and more true to nature than usual; the sphinxes were curious, being Egyptian in idea, but thoroughly Assyrianized, having the horned cap common on bulls, the Assyrian arrangement of hair, Assyrian ear-rings, and wings nearly like those of the ordinary winged bull or lion. The figures near the lions were mythic, and exhibited somewhat more than the

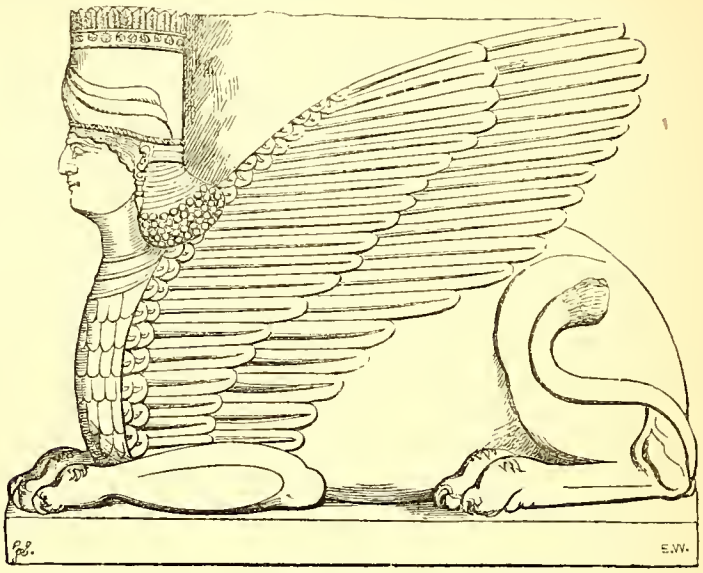
[1] The sculptures had been removed by the chisel in some cases. (Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 29.) I conceive that the intention was to remove them in all.

[2] Layard, vol. i. pp. 347, 376; vol. ii. pp. 25, 26.

[3] Ibid. vol. i. p. 348; vol. ii. p. 26.

[4] The sphinxes were sometimes double: i.e. two were placed side by side. (Ibid. vol. i. p. 349.)

usual grotesqueness, if we may trust the representations of them given by Mr. Layard.[5]



Assyrian sphinx. (Time of Asshur-bani-pal.)

While the evidence of the actual monuments as to the character of Esar-haddon's buildings and their ornamentation is thus scanty, it happens, curiously, that the Inscriptions furnish a particularly elaborate and detailed account of them. It appears, from the principal record of the time, that the temples which Esar-haddon built in Assyria and Babylonia—thirty-six in number—were richly adorned with plates of silver and gold, which made them (in the words of the Inscription) "as splendid as the day."[6] His palace at Nineveh, a building situated on the mound called Nebbi Yunus, was, we are told, erected upon the site of a former palace of the kings of Assyria. Preparations for its construction were made, as for the great buildings of Solomon,[7] by the collection of materials, in wood, stone, and metal, before-

[5] *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. pp. 462, 463.

[6] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 57; *Assyrian Texts*, p. 16. Compare above, p. 478, note [6].

[7] 1 Kings v. 6-18; 2 Chr. ii. 3-18.

hand: these were furnished by the Phœnician, Syrian, and Cyprian monarchs,[8] who sent to Nineveh for the purpose great beams of cedar, cypress, and ebony (?), stone statues, and various works in metals of different kinds. The palace itself is said to have exceeded in size all buildings of former kings. It was roofed with carved beams of cedar-wood; it was in part supported by columns of cypress-wood, ornamented and strengthened with rings of silver and of iron; the portals were guarded by stone bulls and lions; and the gates were made of ebony and cypress, ornamented with iron, silver, and ivory. There was, of course, the usual adornment of the walls by means of sculptured slabs and enamelled bricks. If the prejudices of the Mahometans against the possible disturbance of their dead, and against the violation by infidel hands of the supposed tomb of Jonah, should hereafter be dispelled, and excavations be freely allowed in the Nebbi Yunus mound, we may look to obtain very precious relics of Assyrian art from the palace of Esar-haddon, now lying buried beneath the village or the tombs, which share between them this most important site.[9]

[8] Esar-haddon gives a list of twenty-two kings, who supplied him with materials for his palace at Nineveh. Among them are Manasseh, king of Judah; Baal, king of Tyre; Mitinti, king of Ascalon; Puduel, king of Beth-Ammon; Ægisthus, king of Idalium; Pythagoras, king of Citium; Ithodagon, king of Paphos; Euryalus, king of Soli; Damastes, king of Curium; and kings of Edom, Gaza, Ekron, Byblus, Aradus, Ashdod, Salamis, Tamissus, Ammochosta, Limenium, and Aphrodisia. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 397, note [9], 2nd edition; and compare Oppert, *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 58.)

[9] Mr. Layard made stealthily a single slight excavation in the Nebbi Yunus mound (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 598), which produced a few fragments bearing the name of Esar-haddon. The Turks afterwards excavated for nearly a year, but without much skill or judgment. They uncovered a long line of wall belonging to a palace of Sennacherib, and also a portion of a palace of Esar-haddon. On the outer surface of the former were winged bulls in high relief, sculptured apparently

Of Esar-haddon's Babylonian palace nothing is at present known, beyond the mere fact of its existence; but if the mounds at Hillah should ever be thoroughly explored, we may expect to recover at least its ground-plan, if not its sculptures and other ornaments. The Sherif Khan palace has been examined pretty completely.[10] It was very much inferior to the ordinary palatial edifices of the Assyrians, being in fact only a house which Esar-haddon built as a dwelling for his eldest son during his own lifetime. Like the more imposing buildings of this king, it was probably unfinished at his decease. At any rate its remains add nothing to our knowledge of the state of art in Esar-haddon's time, or to our estimate of that monarch's genius as a builder.

After reigning gloriously for thirteen years, Esar-haddon, "king of Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Meroë, and Ethiopia," as he styles himself in his later inscriptions, died, leaving his crown to his eldest son, Asshur-bani-pal, who was of an age to possess a separate establishment in the lifetime of his father. Asshur-bani-pal ascended the throne in B.C. 667; and his first act seems to have been to appoint as viceroy of Babylon his younger brother Saül-Mugina,[11] who appears as Sam-mughes in Polyhistor,[12] and as Saosduchinus in the Canon of Ptolemy.

The first war in which Asshur-bani-pal engaged

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after the wall was built, each bull covering some ten or twelve distinct blocks of stone. The slab-inscription published in the British Museum Series, Pls. 43 and 44, was obtained from this palace. A bronze lion with legend was obtained from the Esar-haddon palace.

[10] By Mr. Layard, (*Nineveh and Babylon*, l. s. c.), and afterwards by Sir H. Rawlinson.

[11] See *British Museum Series*, Pl. 8, No. II., l. 11.

[12] Ap. Eusеb. *Chron. Can.* Pars 1ma, c. v. § 2. "Sub Ezechia enim Senecherimus regnavit, uti Polyhistor innuit, annis octodecim; post quem ejusdem filius, annis octo: tum annis viginti et uno Sammughes." The *octo* here is probably an error of Eusebius or Polyhistor, IT having been mistaken for H.

was most probably with Egypt. Late in the reign of Esar-haddon—perhaps during his last illness—Tirhakah had descended from the upper country, had recovered Thebes, Memphis, and the other Egyptian cities, and expelled the princes and governors appointed by Esar-haddon upon his conquest.[1] Asshur-bani-pal, shortly after his accession, collected his forces, and marched through Syria into Egypt, where he defeated the army sent against him by Tirhakah in a great battle near the city of Kar-banit. Tirhakah, who was at Memphis, hearing of the disaster that had befallen his army, fled away to Thebes, whither Asshur-bani-pal followed him; but the nimble Ethiopian retreated still further up the Nile valley, leaving all Egypt from Thebes downwards to his adversary. Asshur-bani-pal, upon this, re-instated in their former governments the various princes and rulers, whom his father had originally appointed, and whom Tirhakah had expelled; and then, having rested and refreshed his army by a short stay in Thebes, returned victoriously by way of Syria to Nineveh.

Scarcely was he departed when intrigues began for the restoration of the Ethiopian power. Neco and some of the other Egyptian governors, whom Asshur-bani-pal had just re-instated in their posts, deserted the Assyrian side and went over to the Ethiopians. Attempts were made to suppress the incipient revolt by the governors who continued faithful; Neco and his co-partners in guilt were seized and imprisoned; and some of the cities chiefly implicated, as Sais, Mendes, and Tanis (Zoan), were punished. But the efforts at suppression failed. The Ethiopians rapidly recovered Egypt, and established

[1] Supra, p. 475.

themselves once more in full authority down the whole of the Nilotic valley. Thereupon Asshur-bani-pal undertook a second expedition into Egypt, and gained a second great victory over Tirhakah, who abdicated in disgust,[2] and made over the crown to his stepson Urdamané, the Rud-Ammon or Amen-rud of the Hieroglyphics. This prince, after being defeated by Asshur-bani-pal at Thebes, took to flight, and threw himself into a city called Kipkip, far up the course of the Nile. Here he was overtaken by Asshur-bani-pal, who instantly invested the place, and took it after a short siege. Urdamané again fled, and was followed for a long distance over rugged paths, but apparently escaped his pursuers. The plunder which was taken, consisting of gold, silver, precious stones, dyed garments, captives male and female, ivory, ebony, tame animals (such as monkeys and elephants) brought up in his palace, &c., was carried off and conveyed to Nineveh. Governors were once more set up in the several cities, Psammetichus being probably among them;[3] and, hostages having been taken to secure their fidelity, the Assyrian monarch returned home with his booty.

Between his first and his second expedition into Egypt, Asshur-bani-pal was engaged in warlike operations on the Syrian coast, and in transactions of a different character with Cilicia. Returning from Egypt he made an attack on Tyre, whose king,

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[2] It is interesting to find the abdication of the last great Ethiopian monarch a fact, and not a fiction palmed upon the credulity of Herodotus. (See Herod. ii. 139, ad fin.)

[3] The Egyptians regarded the reign of Psammetichus as commencing immediately upon the termination of the reign of Tirhakah. (Sir G. Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 320, 2nd edition.) The Apis stelæ give for the year of Psammetichus's accession B.C. 664. Asshur-bani-pal's second Egyptian expedition was probably in B.C. 665.

Baal, had offended him, and exacted a large tribute, which he sent away to Nineveh. He then proceeded against Aradus, drove out the king, Yakin-Tib, who had probably refused his tribute, and placed on the throne Abi-baal, one of Yakin-Tib's sons, who, with his nine brothers, had prudently made his submission. About the same time Asshur-bani-pal entered into communication with the Cilician monarch, whose name is not given, and took to wife a daughter of that princely house, which was already connected with the royal race of the Sargonids.[4]

Shortly after his second Egyptian expedition, Asshur-bani-pal seems to have invaded Asia Minor. Crossing the Taurus range he penetrated to a region never before visited by any Assyrian monarch;[5] and, after reducing various towns in these parts, he received an embassy of a very unusual character. "Gyges, king of Lydia,"[6] he tells us, "a country on the sea-coast, a remote place, of which the kings his ancestors had never even heard the name, learnt in a dream (?) the fame of his Empire, and the same day sent officers to his presence to perform homage on his behalf." He likewise caused to be sent to Nineveh, to the Court of Asshur-bani-pal, some Cimmerian chiefs, who had invaded his country[7] and had been taken alive in a battle, together with

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[4] Sargon gave one of his daughters in marriage to the King of Cilicia, contemporary with him. (See above, p. 422, note [6].)

[5] This is his own statement. It is confirmed by the fact that the geographical names are entirely new to us.

[6] We learn from this that Gyges was still living in B.C. 667. Herodotus placed his death about nine or ten years earlier. (See the author's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 287, 2nd edition.) But in this he differed from other writers. (See Dionys. Hal. *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.* c. 3; Euseb. *Chron. Can.* Pars 2^{nda}, p. 325; Hieronym. p. 107.) The reigns of the Lydian kings in Herodotus are improbably long.

[7] The invasion of Lydia by the Cimmerians which Herodotus assigns to the reign of Ardys, is thus proved to have really occurred in the time of his predecessor.

other presents, which Asshur-bani-pal regarded as a "tribute." About the same time the Assyrian monarch had transactions with a certain Tusamilki, a Cimmerian chief; but whether they were of a peaceable or a warlike nature cannot at present be determined.

After thus displaying his power and extending his dominions towards the south-west and the north-west, Asshur-bani-pal turned his arms towards the north-east, and invaded Minni, or Persarmenia—the mountain-country about Lakes Van and Urumiyeh. Akhsheri, the king, having lost his capital, Izirtu, and several other cities, was forced to make submission, and sent his son to Nineveh to do homage, with tribute, presents, and hostages. Asshur-bani-pal received the envoys graciously, pardoned Akhsheri and maintained him upon the throne, but forced him to pay a heavy tribute. He also in this expedition conquered a tract called Paddiri, which former kings of Assyria had severed from Minni and made independent, but which Asshur-bani-pal now attached to his own empire and placed under an Assyrian governor.

A war of some duration followed with Susiana, the flames of which at one time extended also to Babylonia. This war was caused by a transfer of allegiance.[8] Certain tribes, pressed by a famine, had passed from Susiana into the territories of Asshur-bani-pal, and were allowed to settle there; but when, the famine being over, they wished to return to their former country, Asshur-bani-pal would not consent to their withdrawal. Urtaki, the Susianian king, took umbrage at this refusal, and commenced hostilities to revenge himself; but Asshur-bani-pal soon transferred the war into Susiana, and gained successes of

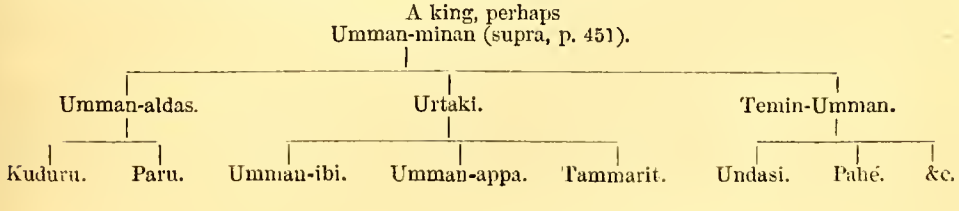
[8] See above, p. 447, and compare the narrative of Herodotus, i. 73.

some importance. Hereupon Belu-bagar, king of the important Aramæan tribe of the Gambulu,[1] interposed as mediator, and endeavoured to reconcile the two belligerents; but his friendly efforts were not attended by any favourable result. The war continued; but, in the next year, its scene was transferred to Babylonia, where Saül-mugina, Asshur-bani-pal's brother, had revolted and allied himself with the Susianians. Several battles were then fought between the Assyrians and the combined Susianians and Babylonians, in the heart of the Babylonian territory, about Cutha, Babylon, and Borsippa, the advantage resting with the Assyrians, who finally captured Babylon, and made Saül-mugina a prisoner. Notwithstanding his revolt, he was allowed to retain his government, and merely punished by an augmentation of his annual tribute.

Soon after the capture of Babylon, Urtaki died, and a domestic revolution took place in Susiana, which was very advantageous to the Assyrians. Urtaki had driven his elder brother, Umman-aldas, from the throne, and, passing over the rights of his sons, had assumed the supreme authority. At his death, his younger brother, Temin-Umman, seized the crown, disregarding not only the rights of the sons of Umman-aldas, but likewise those of the sons of Urtaki.[2] As the pretensions of those princes were

[1] See above, pp. 419, 430, 452, 472, &c.

[2] It may assist the reader towards a clearer comprehension of the narrative in the text to exhibit the genealogical tree of the Susianian royal family at this time, so far as it is known to us.



dangerous, Temin-Umman endeavoured to seize their persons with the intention of putting them to death; but they, having timely warning of their danger, fled; and, escaping to Nineveh with their relations and adherents, put themselves under the protection of Asshur-bani-pal. It thus happened that in the war which now followed, Asshur-bani-pal had a party which favoured him in Susiana itself. Temin-Umman, however, aware of this internal weakness, made great efforts to compensate for it by the number of his foreign allies. Two descendants of Merodach-Baladan, who had principalities upon the coast of the Persian Gulf, two mountain-chiefs, one of them a blood-connexion of the Assyrian crown, two sons of Belu-bagar, sheikh of the Gambulu, and several other inferior chieftains, are mentioned as bringing their troops to his assistance and fighting in his cause against the Assyrians. All, however, was in vain. Asshur-bani-pal defeated the allies in several engagements, and finally took Temin-Umman prisoner, executed him, and exposed his head over one of the gates of Nineveh. He then divided Susiana between two of the sons of Urtaki, Umman-ibi and Tammarit, establishing the former in Susa, and the latter in a town called Khidal.[3] Great severities were exercised upon the various princes and nobles who had been captured. A son of Temin-Umman was executed with his father. Several grandees of Merodach-Baladan suffered mutilation. A Chaldæan prince and one of the chieftains of the Gambulu had their tongues torn out by the roots. Another of the Gambulu chiefs was decapitated. Two of Temin-Umman's

[3] Khidal or Khaidala (Oppert, Fox Talbot) is mentioned also in the annals of Sennacherib. It was the place to which Kudur-Nakhunta fled from Badaca. (Supra, p. 451.)

principal officers were chained and flayed. Palaya, a grandson of Merodach-Baladan, was committed to prison. Asshur-bani-pal evidently hoped to strike terror into his enemies by these cruel, and now unusual, punishments, which, being inflicted for the most part upon royal personages, must have made a profound impression on the king-reverencing Asiatics.

The impression made was, however, one of horror rather than of alarm. Scarcely had the Assyrians returned to Nineveh, when the two sons of Urtaki, who owed their crowns to Asshur-bani-pal, revolted against him, and joined the patriarch of the family, Umman-aldas, the elder brother of Urtaki and Temin-Umman, who now came forth from his retirement, and, raising the standard of national independence, placed himself at the head of the movement. Inda-bibi, a mountain chief from the fastnesses of Luristan,[4] and Nebo-bel-sumi, a surviving grandson of Merodach-Baladan, came into the confederacy; and Asshur-bani-pal found that the entire work of subjection was to be begun and carried through over again. Not shrinking from the task, he invaded Susiana at the head of an immense army, and, having obtained certain advantages in the field, besieged and took Bit-Imbi, where the whole royal family of Susiana had now taken up its abode and deposited its treasures. Upon this Tammarit, anticipating the failure of the revolt, came in and made his submission; while Umman-aldas and the other chiefs fled away and escaped to the mountains. Asshur-bani-pal then took twenty-six of the Susianian cities; and, among them, Susa and Badaca.

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[4] Inda-bibi appears to have belonged to the Susianian royal family, and to have held his crown as a sort of appanage or fief.

Still, the old prince, Umman-aldas, did not despair, but made ready in the fastnesses to which he had fled, for another and a final effort. Having concentrated all power into his own hands, he, in the spring of the next year, made himself once more master of Bit-Imbi, and, establishing himself there, prepared to resist the Assyrians. Their forces shortly appeared; and, unable to hold the place against their assaults, Umman-aldas evacuated it with his troops, and fought a retreating fight all the way back to Susa, holding the various strong towns and rivers[1] in succession. Gallant, however, as was his resistance, it proved ineffectual. The lines of defence which he chose were forced, one after another; and finally both Susa and Badaca were taken, and the country once more lay at Asshur-bani-pal's mercy. All the towns made their submission. Asshur-bani-pal, burning with anger at their revolt, plundered the capital of its treasures,[2] and gave the other cities up to be spoiled by his soldiers for the space of a month and twenty-three days. He then united the province to that of Babylonia, and made his brother, Saül-mugina, governor over both. Thus ended the Susianian war,[3] after it had lasted, with brief interruptions, for the space of four years.

Asshur-bani-pal's next campaign was against the Arabs. Some of the desert tribes had, it appears, lent assistance to Saül-mugina during his short revolt against his suzerain, and it was to punish this audacity that Asshur-bani-pal undertook his expedition.

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[1] Among the rivers the Eulæus (Hulai) is distinctly mentioned as that on which Susa was situated.

[2] Among these are particularized eighteen images of gods and goddesses, thirty-two statues of former Susianian kings, statues of Kudur-Nakhunta, Tammarit, &c.

[3] In a later passage of the annals there is a further mention of Umman-aldas, who appears to have survived the war, and to have retained some portion of the territory.

His principal enemy was a certain Vaiteha, who had for allies, Natun, or Nathan, king of the Nabathæans, and Yuteha, son of Hazael, king of Kedar. The fighting seems to have extended along the whole country bordering the Euphrates valley from the Persian Gulf to Syria,[4] and thence southwards by Damascus to Petra. Petra itself, Muhab (or Moab), Hudumi-mukrab (Edom), Zaharri (perhaps Zoar), and several other cities were taken by the Assyrians. The final battle was fought at a place called Khukhuruna, in the mountains near Damascus, where the Arabians were defeated with great slaughter, and the two chiefs who had led the Arab contingent to the assistance of Saül-mugina were made prisoners by the Assyrians. Asshur-bani-pal had them conducted to Nineveh, and there publicly executed.

The annals of Asshur-bani-pal here terminate.[5] They exhibit him to us as a warrior more enterprising and more powerful than any of his predecessors, and as one who enlarged in almost every direction the previous limits of the empire. In Egypt he completed the work which his father Esar-haddon had begun, and firmly established the Assyrian dominion, not only at Sais and at Memphis, but at Thebes. In Asia Minor he carried the Assyrian arms far beyond any former king, conquering large tracts which had never before been invaded, and extending the reputation of his greatness to the extreme western limits of the continent. Against his northern neighbours he contended with unusual success, and towards the close of his reign he reckoned, not only the Mnini, but the

[4] A lake is mentioned, which, apparently, was the Sea of Nedjif. (Supra, vol. i. p. 18.)

[5] The only additional facts mentioned are the reception of tribute from Husuva, a city on the Syrian coast, some dealings with Umman-aldas, apparently in the way of pacification, and the submission of Belat-Duri, king of the Armenians (Urarda).

Urarda, or true Armenians, among his tributaries.[6] Towards the south, he added to the empire the great country of Susiana, never subdued until his reign; and on the west, he signally chastised, if he did not actually conquer, the Arabs.

To his military ardour Asshur-bani-pal added a passionate addiction to the pleasures of the chase. Lion-hunting was his especial delight. Sometimes along the banks of reedy streams, sometimes borne mid-channel in his pleasure galley, he sought the king of beasts in his native haunts, roused him by means of hounds and beaters from his lair, and despatched him with his unerring arrows.[7] Sometimes he enjoyed the sport in his own park or paradise. Large and fierce beasts, brought from a distance, were placed in traps about the grounds,[1] and on his approach were set free from their confinement, while he drove among them in his chariot, letting fly his shafts at each with a strong and steady hand, which rarely failed to attain the mark it aimed at. Aided only by two or three attendants armed with spears, he would encounter the terrific spring of the bolder beasts, who rushed frantically at the royal marksman, and endeavoured to tear him from the chariot-board. Sometimes he would even voluntarily quit this vantage-ground, and, engaging with the brutes on the same level, without the protection of armour, in his everyday dress, with a mere fillet upon his head, he would dare a close combat, and smite them with sword or spear through the heart.[2]

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[6] See the preceding note.

[7] Supra, p. 126; and compare vol. i. p. 447. Asshur-bani-pal's love of sport appears further by the figures of his favourite hounds, which he had made in clay, painted, and inscribed with their respective names. (See vol. i. pp. 293 and 426.)

[1] See p. 127.

[2] It is Asshur-bani-pal who is represented on page 124, in both woodcuts.

When the supply of lions fell short, or when he was satiated with this kind of sport, Asshur-bani-pal would vary his occupation and content himself with game of an inferior description. Wild bulls were probably no longer found in Assyria or the adjacent countries,[3] so that he was precluded from the sport which, next to the chase of the lion, occupied and delighted the earlier kings. He could indulge, however, freely in the chase of the wild ass—still to this day a habitant of the Mesopotamian regions;[4] and he could hunt the stag, the hind, and the ibex or wild goat. In these tamer kinds of sport he seems, however, to have indulged only occasionally—as a light relaxation scarcely worthy of a great king.

Asshur-bani-pal is the only one of the Assyrian monarchs to whom we can ascribe a real taste for learning and literature. The other kings were content to leave behind them some records of the events of their reign, inscribed on cylinders, slabs, bulls, or lions, and a few dedicatory inscriptions, addresses to the gods whom they specially worshipped. Asshur-bani-pal's literary tastes were far more varied—indeed they were all-embracing. It seems to have been under his direction that the vast collection of clay tablets—a sort of Royal Library—was made at Nineveh, from which the British Museum has derived perhaps the most valuable of its treasures. Comparative vocabularies, lists of deities and their epithets, chronological lists of kings and Eponyms, records of astronomical observations, grammars, histories, scientific works of various kinds, seem to have been composed in the reign,[5] and probably at the

[3] Supra, p. 132.

[4] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 270; Ainsworth, *Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand*, p. 77.

[5] The greater part of the tablets—and more especially those of a *literary*

bidding, of this prince, who devoted to their preservation certain chambers in the palace of his grandfather, where they were found by Mr. Layard. The clay tablets, on which they were inscribed, lay here in such multitudes—in some instances entire, but more commonly broken into fragments—that they filled the chambers *to the height of a foot or more* from the floor.[6] Mr. Layard observes with justice, that "the documents thus discovered at Nineveh probably exceed [in amount of writing] all that has yet been afforded by the monuments of Egypt."[7] They have yielded of late years some most interesting results,[8] and will probably long continue to be a mine of almost inexhaustible wealth to the cuneiform scholar.

As a builder, Asshur-bani-pal aspired to rival, if not even to excel, the greatest of the monarchs who had preceded him. His palace was built on the mound of Koyunjik, within a few hundred yards of the magnificent erection of his grandfather, with which he was evidently not afraid to challenge comparison. It was built on a plan unlike any adopted by former kings. The main building consisted of three arms branching from a common centre, and thus in its general shape resembled a gigantic T. The central point was reached by a long ascending gallery lined with sculptures, which led from a gateway, with

character—are evidently copies of more ancient documents, since a blank is constantly left where the original was defective, and a gloss entered, "wanting." There are a large number of religious documents, prayers, invocations, &c., together with not a few juridical treatises (the fines, *e. g.* to be levied for certain social offences); and finally, there are the entire contents of a Registry office—deeds of sale and barter referring to land, houses, slaves, and every species of property, contracts, bonds for loans, benefactions, and various other kinds of legal instruments. A selection from the tablets is now being prepared for publication by Sir H. Rawlinson.

[6] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 345.

[7] Ibid. p. 347.

[8] As especially the chronological scheme drawn from four different tablets, which has been called "the Assyrian Canon."

rooms attached, at a corner of the great court, first a distance of 190 feet in a direction parallel to the top bar of the T, and then a distance of eighty feet in a direction at right angles to this, which brought it down exactly to the central point whence the arms branched. The entire building was thus a sort of cross, with one long arm projecting from the top towards the left or west. The principal apartments were in the lower limb of the cross. Here was a grand hall, running nearly the whole length of the limb, at least 145 feet long by 28½ feet broad, opening upon the east on a great court, paved chiefly with the exquisite patterned slabs, of which a specimen was given in the former volume,[9] and communicating towards the west with a number of smaller rooms, and through them with a second court, which looked towards the south-west and the south. The next largest apartment was in the right or eastern arm of the cross. It was a hall 108 feet long by twenty-four wide, divided by a broad doorway, in which were two pillar-bases, into a square antechamber of twenty-four feet each way, and an inner apartment about eighty feet in length. Neither of the two arms of the cross was completely explored; and it is uncertain whether they extended to the extreme edge of the eastern and western courts, thus dividing each of them into two; or whether they only reached into the courts a certain distance. Assuming the latter view as the more probable, the two courts would have measured respectively 310 and 330 feet from the north-west to the south-east, while they must have been from 230 to 250 feet in the opposite direction. From the comparative privacy of the

[9] See vol. i. p. 350.

buildings,[10] and from the character of the sculptures,[11] it appears probable that the left or western arm of the cross formed the *hareem* of the monarch.

The most remarkable feature in the great palace of Asshur-bani-pal was the beauty and elaborate character of the ornamentation. The courts were paved with large slabs elegantly patterned. The doorways had sometimes arched tops beautifully adorned with rosettes, lotuses, &c.[12] The chambers and passages were throughout lined with alabaster slabs, bearing reliefs designed with wonderful spirit, and executed with the most extraordinary minuteness and delicacy. It was here that were found all those exquisite hunting scenes, which have furnished their most interesting illustrations to the present volumes.[13] Here, too, were the representations of the private life of the monarch,[1] of the trees and flowers of the palace garden,[2] of the royal galley with its two banks of oars,[3] of the libation over four dead lions,[4] of the temple with pillars supported on lions,[5] and of various bands of musicians, some of which have been already

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[10] So far as appeared, only one doorway led from the rest of the palace to these western rooms.

[11] Here was the representation of the royal garden, with vines, lilies, and flowers of different kinds (see vol. i. pp. 439 and 440), among which musicians and tame lions were walking.

[12] See the representation, vol. i. p. 417.

[13] As especially the following: In vol. i.: The Wild Ass (p. 281); the Stag and Hind (p. 282); the dying Wild Asses (p. 441); the Lion about to spring, and the Wounded Wild Ass seized by Hounds (p. 442); the Wounded Lion (p. 443); the Lion biting a Chariot-wheel (p. 444); the King shooting a Lion (p. 445); and the Lion-hunt on a river (p. 447). In vol. ii.: The King killing Lions (p. 124); the Lion let out of a trap (p. 127); the Hound held in leash (p. 128); the Wounded Lioness (p. 130); the Hound chasing a Wild Ass (p. 135); the Wild Asses (pp. 136 and 137); the Hound chasing a Doe (p. 138); the Stag taking the Water (p. 139); and the Ibexes (p. 141).

[1] Supra, p. 107.

[2] See vol. i. pp. 439 and 440.

[3] Ibid. p. 447.

[4] Supra, p. 134.

[5] See vol. i. p. 391. The temple (No. V. p. 388) also belongs to this monarch.

given.[6] Combined with these peaceful scenes and others of a similar character, as particularly a long train, with game, nets, and dogs, returning from the chase, which formed the adornment of a portion of the ascending passage, were a number of views of sieges and battles, representing the wars of the monarch in Susiana and elsewhere. Reliefs of a character very similar to these last were found by Mr. Layard in certain chambers of the palace of Sennacherib, which had received their ornamentation from Asshur-bani-pal.[7] They were remarkable for the unusual number and small size of the figures, for the variety and spirit of the attitudes, and for the careful finish of all the little details of the scenes represented upon them. Deficient in grouping and altogether destitute of any artistic unity, they yet give probably the best representation that has come down to us of the confused *mêlée* of an Assyrian battle, showing us at one view, as they do, all the various phases of the flight and pursuit, the capture and treatment of the prisoners, the gathering of the spoil, and the cutting off the heads of the slain. These reliefs form now a portion of our National Collection. A tolerable idea may be formed of them from Mr. Layard's Second Series of Monuments, where they form the subject of five elaborate engravings.[8]

Besides his own great palace at Koyunjik and his additions to the palace of his grandfather at the same place, Asshur-bani-pal certainly constructed some building, or buildings, at Nebbi Yunus, where slabs, inscribed with his name and an account of his wars, have been found.[9] If we may regard him as the

[6] Supra, pp. 158 and 166.
[7] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 446-459.
[8] *Monuments*, Second Series, Pls. 45 to 49.
[9] *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 459.

real monarch whom the Greeks generally intended by their Sardanapalus, we may say that, according to some classical authors, he was the builder of the city of Tarsus in Cilicia, and likewise of the neighbouring city of Anchialus;[10] though writers of more authority tell us that Tarsus, at any rate, was built by Sennacherib.[11] It seems further to have been very generally believed by the Greeks that the tomb of Sardanapalus was in this neighbourhood.[12] They describe it as a monument of some height, crowned by a statue of the monarch, who appeared to be in the act of snapping his fingers. On the stone base was an inscription in Assyrian characters, of which they believed the sense to run as follows :—"Sardanapalus, son of Anacyndaraxes, built Tarsus and Anchialus in one day. Do thou, O stranger, eat, and drink, and amuse thyself; for all the rest of human life is not worth so much as *this*"—"this" meaning the sound which the king was supposed to be making with his fingers. It appears probable that there was some figure of this kind, with an Assyrian inscription below it, near Anchialus; but as we can scarcely suppose that the Greeks could read the cuneiform writing, the presumed translation of the inscription would seem to be valueless. Indeed, the very different versions of the legend which are given by different writers[13] sufficiently indicate that they had no

[10] Or Anchiale. (See Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 5; Apollod. Fr. 69; Hellanic. Fr. 158; Schol. ad Aristoph. *Av.* 1021, &c.)

[11] See above, p. 453.

[12] See, besides the authors quoted in note [10], Strab. xiv. p. 958, and Athen. *Deipn.* xii. 7, p. 530, B.

[13] Clearchus said that the inscription was simply, "Sardanapalus, son of Anacyndaraxes, built Tarsus and Anchiale in one day—yet now he is dead" (ap. Athen. l. s. c.). Aristobulus gave the inscription in the form quoted above (Strab. l. s. c.; Athen. l. s. c.). Later writers enlarged upon the theme of this last version, and turned it into six or

real knowledge of its purport. We may conjecture that the monument was in reality a *stele* containing the king in an arched frame, with the right hand raised above the left, which is the ordinary attitude,[14] and an inscription below commemorating the occasion of its erection. Whether it was really set up by this king or by one of his predecessors,[15] we cannot say. The Greeks, who seem to have known more of Asshur-bani-pal than of any other Assyrian monarch, in consequence of his war in Asia Minor and his relations with Gyges, are not unlikely to have given his name to any Assyrian monument which they found in these parts, whether in the local tradition it was regarded as his work or no.

Such, then, are the traditions of the Greeks with respect to this monarch. The stories told by Ctesias of a king, to whom he gives the same name, and repeated from him by later writers,[16] are probably not intended to have any reference to Asshur-bani-pal, the son of Esar-haddon, but rather refer to his successor, the last king. Even Ctesias could scarcely have ventured to depict to his countrymen the great Asshur-bani-pal, the vanquisher of Tirhakah, the subduer of the tribes beyond the Taurus, the powerful and warlike monarch whose friendship was courted by the rich and pros-

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seven hexameter lines (Strab. l. s. c.; Diod. Sic. ii. 23; Schol. ad Aristoph. *Av.* 1021). Amyntas said that the tomb of Sardanapalus was at Nineveh, and gave a completely different inscription (Athen. l. s. c.). I regard all these tales as nearly worthless.

[14] See above, p. 331.

[15] I incline to believe that the so-called tomb of Sardanapalus was in reality the stele set up by Sennacherib (as related by Polyhistor, supra, p. 453, note [10]) on his conquest of Cilicia and settlement of Tarsus. I cannot agree with those who see in the architectural emblem on the coins of Tarsus a representation of the monument in question. (See M. Raoul Rochette's Memoir in the *Mémoires de l'Institut*, tom. xvii.). That emblem appears to me to be the temple of a god.

[16] As Diodorus Siculus (ii. 23-27); Cephalion (ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* Pars 1ma, c. xv.); Justin, i. 3; Mos. Chor. *Hist. Armen.* i. 20; Nic. Damasc., Fr. 8; Clearch. Sol. Fr. 5; Duris Sam. Fr. 14; &c.

perous Gyges, king of Lydia,[17] as a mere voluptuary, who never put his foot outside the palace gates, but dwelt in the seraglio, doing woman's work, and often dressed as a woman. The character of Asshur-bani-pal stands really in the strongest contrast to the description—be it a portrait, or be it a mere sketch from fancy—which Ctesias gives of his Sardanapalus. Asshur-bani-pal was beyond a doubt one of Assyria's greatest kings. He subdued Egypt and Susiana; he held quiet possession of the kingdom of Babylon;[1] he carried his arms deep into Armenia; he led his troops across the Taurus, and subdued the barbarous tribes of Asia Minor. When he was not engaged in important wars, he chiefly occupied himself in the chase of the lion, and in the construction and ornamentation of temples[2] and palaces. His glory was well known to the Greeks. He was no doubt one of the "two kings called Sardanapalus," celebrated by Hellanicus;[3] he must have been "the warlike Sardanapalus" of Callisthenes;[4] Herodotus spoke of his great wealth;[5] and Aristophanes used his name as a by-word for magnificence.[6] The decline of Assyria does not seem to have commenced till after his death. In his reign the Assyrian dominions reached their greatest extent, Assyrian art culminated, and the empire seemed likely to extend itself over the whole of the East. It was then, indeed, that Assyria most completely answered

[17] On the wealth and power of Gyges, see Herod. i. 14; and compare Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 17; Plutarch, ii. p. 470, C.

[1] The short revolt of Saül-mugina (supra, p. 489), which was begun and ended within a year, is an unimportant exception to the general rule of tranquil possession.

[2] Asshur-bani-pal raised a temple to Ishtar at Koyunjik (Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 497), and repaired a shrine of the same goddess at Arbela (ibid. p. 522).

[3] Hellanic. Fr. 158.

[4] Suidas ad voc. Σαρδανάπαλος.

[5] Herod. ii. 150.

[6] Aristoph. *Av.* l. 988, ed. Bothe.

the description of the Prophet—"The Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon, with fair branches, and with a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature; and his top was among the thick boughs. The waters made him great; the deep set him up on high with her rivers running about his plants, and sent out her little rivers unto all the trees of the field. Therefore his height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long because of the multitude of waters, when he shot forth. All the fowls of the heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt *all great nations*. Thus was he fair in his greatness, in the length of his branches; for his root was by great waters. The cedars in the garden of God could not hide him; the fir-trees were not like his boughs; and the chesnut-trees were not like his branches; *nor any tree in the garden of God was like unto him in his beauty*."[7]

In one respect, however, Assyria, it is to be feared, had made but little advance beyond the spirit of a comparatively barbarous time. The "lion" still "tore in pieces for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with ravin."[8] Advancing civilization, more abundant literature, improved art, had not softened the tempers of the Assyrians, nor rendered them more tender and compassionate in their treatment of captured enemies. Sennacherib and Esar-haddon show, indeed, in this respect, some superiority to former kings. They frequently spared their prisoners, even when rebels,[9] and seem seldom to have had recourse

[7] Ezek. xxxi. 3-8.
[8] Nahum, ii. 12.
[9] See above, pp. 432, 450, 473 and 476.

to extreme punishments. But Asshur-bani-pal reverted to the antique system[10] of executions, mutilations, and tortures. We see on his bas-reliefs the unresisting enemy thrust through with the spear, the tongue torn from the mouth of the captive accused of blasphemy, the rebel king beheaded on the field of battle, and the prisoner brought to execution with the head of a friend or brother hung round his neck.[11] We see the scourgers preceding the king as his regular attendants, with their whips passed through their girdles;[1] we behold the operation of flaying performed either upon living or dead men;[2] we observe those who are about to be executed first struck on the face by the executioner's fist.[3] Altogether we seem to have evidence, not of mere severity, which may sometimes be a necessary or even a merciful policy, but of a barbarous cruelty, such as could not fail to harden and brutalise alike those who witnessed and those who inflicted it. Nineveh, it is plain, still deserved the epithet of "a bloody city," or "a city of bloods."[4] Asshur-bani-pal was harsh, vindictive, unsparing, careless of human suffering—nay, glorying in his shame, he not merely practised cruelties, but handed the record of them down to posterity by representing them in all their horrors upon his palace walls.

If Asshur-bani-pal died, as we have supposed,[5] about B.C. 647, it is probable that he continued to the

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[10] The great Asshur-idanni-pal (B.C. 884-859) was apparently the most cruel of all the Assyrian kings. (See above, p. 339, note [4].) Asshur-bani-pal does not exactly revive his practices; but he acts in his spirit.

[11] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 457 and 458.

[1] Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 49; compare *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 452.

[2] *Monuments*, Pl. 47.

[3] *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 458; *Monuments*, Pl. 48.

[4] Nahum iii. 1.

[5] Supra, p. 294.

end of his life a prosperous and mighty king. The crown descended quietly to his son Asshur-emid-ilin or Asshur-kinat-ili-kain—the Saracus of Abydenus, and perhaps the Cinneladanus of Ptolemy's Canon. Of this prince we possess but few native records; and, unless it should be thought that the picture which Ctesias gave of the character and conduct of his last Assyrian king deserves to be regarded as authentic history, and to be attached to this monarch, we must confess to an almost equal dearth of classical notices of his life and actions. Nothing has come down to us from his time but a few legends on bricks,[6] from which it appears that he was the builder of the south-east edifice at Nimrud, a construction presenting some remarkable but no very interesting features. The classical notices, apart from the tales which Ctesias originated, are limited to a few sentences in Abydenus,[1] and a word or two in Polyhistor.[2] Thus nearly the same obscurity which enfolds the earlier portion of the history gathers about the monarch in whose person the empire terminated; and instead of the ample details which have crowded upon us now

[6] See *British Museum Series*, Pl. viii. No. 3.

[1] Abyden. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* Pars 1ma, c. ix.: "Post quem (*i. e.* Sardanapallum) Saracus imperitabat Assyriis: qui quidem certior factus turmarum vulgi collecticiarum quæ à mari adversus se adventarent, continuo Busalussorum militiæ ducem Babylonem mittebat. Sed enim hic, capto rebellandi consilio, Amuhiam Asdahagis Medorum principis filiam nato suo Nabucodrossoro despondebat; moxque raptim contra Ninum, seu Ninivem, urbem impetum faciebat. Re omni cognita, rex Saracus regiam Evoritam (?) inflammabat." Compare the parallel passage of Syncellus:—Οὗτος (ὁ Ναβοπολάσαρος) στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Σαράκου τοῦ Χαλδαίων βασιλέως σταλεὶς, κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σαράκου εἰς Νῖνον ἐπιστρατεύει· οὗ τὴν ἔφοδον πτοηθεὶς ὁ Σάρακος, ἑαυτὸν σὺν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνέπρησεν. καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Χαλδαίων καὶ Βαβυλῶνος παρέλαβεν ὁ αὐτὸς Ναβοπολάσαρος. *Chronograph.* p. 210, B.

[2] Ap. eund. c. v. § 2. Polyhistor here makes Sammughes succeeded by his brother after a reign of 21 years; and then gives this "brother" a reign of the same duration. After him he places Nabopolassar, to whom he assigns 20 years. In the next section there is an omission (as the text now stands) either of this "brother" or of Nabopolassar—probably of the latter.

for many consecutive reigns, we shall be reduced to a meagre outline, partly resting upon conjecture, in our portraiture of this last king.

Saracus, as the monarch may be termed (after Abydenus) for the sake of brevity, if he is really to be identified with the Cinneladanus of Ptolemy's Canon, must have commenced his reign by reverting to the policy of his grandfather,[3] resolving, like him, to appoint no viceroy over Babylon, but to hold, himself, the sovereign authority over both countries. In the earlier part of his reign he may have continued for several years in the possession of that marvellous prosperity which had so long been the portion of his house and nation. Unsuspicious of the coming evil, he may have enjoyed to the full the splendid pomp, the vast wealth, the exquisite luxury, which had come down to him as his inheritance from a long line of kings. He may possibly have become celebrated throughout Asia for his softness and effeminacy.[4] Seeing no cloud in any quarter of the political horizon, experiencing no disturbance either on the part of internal foes or foreign enemies, he may have discontinued the system of constant military expeditions maintained by previous kings, and have occupied his time principally in feasting and amusements.

If we may trust the chronology of Herodotus,[5] the danger which must first have awakened him from this dream of security was an attack upon his capital by

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[3] See above, p. 476.

[4] On the whole I incline to believe that the extreme effeminacy of the last king is a myth, the invention of Ctesias, who thought it would add piquancy to his account of the fall of the empire. Aristotle appears to have been of this opinion (*Pol.* v. 8). It is quite possible, however, that the monarch may have been unwarlike.

[5] According to Herodotus, the first attack of the Medes on Assyria was 76 years before the accession of Cyrus, or B.C. 634 (i. 102, 106, 130).

the Medes. This people had, it is probable, been for some time growing in strength, owing to the recent arrival in their country of fresh immigrants from the far East; and about the year B.C. 634, when Saracus had perhaps been king for thirteen years, they felt themselves sufficiently strong to undertake an expedition against Nineveh. Their first attack, however, failed utterly. Phraortes, or whoever may have been the real leader of the invading army, was completely defeated by the Assyrians; his forces were cut to pieces, and he himself was among the slain.[6] Still, the very fact that the Medes could now take the offensive and attack Assyria was novel and alarming; it showed a new condition of things in these parts, and foreboded no good to the power which was evidently on the decline and in danger of losing its preponderance. An enterprising warrior would doubtless have followed up the defeat of the invader by attacking him in his own country before he could recover from the severe blow dealt him; but the Assyrian monarch appears to have been content with repelling his foe, and made no effort to retaliate. Cyaxares, the successor of the slain Median king, effected at his leisure such arrangements as he thought necessary before repeating his predecessor's attempt.[7] When they were completed—perhaps in B.C. 632—he led his troops into Assyria, defeated the Assyrian forces in the field, and, following up his advantage, appeared before Nineveh and closely invested the town. Nineveh would perhaps have fallen in this year; but suddenly and unexpectedly a strange event recalled the Median monarch to his

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[6] Ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης αὐτός τε διεφθάρη, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός. (Herod. i. 102.)

[7] Ibid. i. 103.

own country, where a danger threatened him previously unknown in these parts.

When at the present day we take a general survey of the world's past history, we see that, by a species of fatality—by a law, that is, whose workings we cannot trace—there issue from time to time out of the frozen bosom of the North vast hordes of uncouth savages—brave, hungry, countless—who swarm into the fairer southern regions determinately, irresistibly; like locusts winging their flight into a green land. How such multitudes come to be propagated in countries where life is with difficulty sustained, we do not know; why the impulse suddenly seizes them to quit their old haunts and move steadily in a given direction, we cannot say: but we see that the phenomenon is one of constant recurrence, and we therefore now scarcely regard it as being curious or strange at all. In Asia, Cimmerians, Scythians, Parthians, Mongols, Turks; in Europe, Gauls, Goths, Huns, Avars, Vandals, Lombards, Bulgarians, have successively illustrated the law, and made us familiar with its operation. But there was a time in history before the law had come into force; and its very existence must have been then unsuspected. Even since it began to operate, it has so often undergone prolonged suspension, that the wisest may be excused if, under such circumstances, they cease to bear it in mind, and are as much startled when a fresh illustration of it occurs, as if the like had never happened before. Probably there is seldom an occasion of its coming into play in which it does not take men more or less by surprise, and rivet their attention by its seeming strangeness and real unexpectedness.

If Western Asia had ever, in the remote ages

before the Assyrian monarchy was established, been subject to invasions of this character—which is not improbable[1]—at any rate so long a period had elapsed since the latest of them, that in the reigns of Saracus and Cyaxares they were wholly forgotten; and the South reposed in happy unconsciousness of a danger which might at any time have burst upon it, had the Providence which governs the world so willed. The Asiatic steppes had long teemed with a nomadic population, of a warlike temper, and but slightly attached to its homes, which ignorance of its own strength and of the weakness and wealth of its neighbours had alone prevented from troubling the great Empires of the South. Geographic difficulties had at once prolonged the period of ignorance, and acted as obstructions, if ever the idea arose of pushing exploring parties into the southern regions; the Caucasus, the Caspian, the sandy deserts of Khiva and Kharesm, and the great central Asiatic mountain-chains, forming barriers which naturally restrained the Northern hordes from progressing in this direction. But a time had now arrived when these causes were no longer to operate; the line of demarcation which had so long separated North and South was to be crossed; the flood-gates were to be opened, and the stream of Northern emigration was to pour itself in a resistless torrent over the fair and fertile regions from which it had hitherto been barred out. Perhaps population had increased beyond all former precedent; perhaps a spirit of enterprise had arisen; possibly some slight accident—the exploration of a hunter hard pressed for food, the chattering tongue

[1] Supra, vol. i. p. 69.

of a merchant, the invitation of a traitor[2]—may have dispelled the ignorance of earlier times, and brought to the knowledge of the hardy North the fact, that beyond the mountains and the seas, which they had always regarded as the extreme limit of the world, there lay a rich prey inviting the coming of the spoiler.

The condition of the Northern barbarians, less than two hundred years after this time, has been graphically portrayed by two of the most observant of the Greeks, who themselves visited the Steppe country to learn the character and customs of the people. Where civilization is unknown, changes are so slow and slight, that we may reasonably regard the descriptions of Herodotus and Hippocrates, though drawn in the fifth century before our era, as applying, in all their main points, to the same race two hundred years earlier. These writers describe the Scythians as a people coarse and gross in their habits, with large fleshy bodies, loose joints, soft swollen bellies, and scanty hair.[3] They never washed themselves;[4] their nearest approach to ablution was a vapour-bath,[5] or the application of a paste to their bodies which left them glossy on its removal.[6] They lived either in waggons,[7] or in felt tents of a simple and rude construction;[8] and subsisted on mare's

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[2] Compare the stories as to the first invasion of Italy by the Gauls. (Niebuhr's *Roman History*, vol. ii. p. 510, E. T.)

[3] Hippocrat. *De aere, aqua, et locis*, c. vi. p. 558.

[4] Herod. iv. 75. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ λοῦνται ὕδατι τοπαράπαν τὸ σῶμα.

[5] Ibid. ch. 73.

[6] It seems to have been only the women who made use of this latter substitute. (Ibid. ch. 75.)

[7] Ἀμαξόβιοι or φερέοικοι. (See Herod. iv. 46; Hes. Frs. 121 and 122, ed. Göttling; Hippocrat. *De aere, aqua*, &c., § 44; Æschyl. *P. V.* 734-736; &c.)

[8] Herodotus describes these tents (iv. 73) as composed of woollen felts arranged around three bent

milk and cheese,[9] to which the boiled flesh of horses and cattle was added, as a rare delicacy, occasionally.[10] In war their customs were very barbarous. The Scythian who slew an enemy in battle immediately proceeded to drink his blood. He then cut off the head, which he exhibited to his king in order to obtain his share of the spoil; after which he stripped the scalp from the skull and hung it on his bridle-rein as a trophy. Sometimes he flayed his dead enemy's right arm and hand, and used the skin as a covering for his quiver. The upper portion of the skull he commonly made into a drinking-cup.[11] The greater part of each day he spent on horseback, in attendance on the huge herds of cattle which he pastured. His favourite weapon was the bow, which he used as he rode, shooting his arrows with great precision.[12] He generally carried, besides his bow and arrows, a short spear or javelin, and sometimes bore also a short sword or a battle-axe.[13]

Scythian soldiers, from a vase found in a tomb.

sticks inclined towards one another. Æschylus calls them πλεκτὰς στέγας, perhaps regarding the covering as composed of mats rather than felts. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iii. p. 54, note [4], 2nd edition.)

[9] Γλακτοφάγοι, ἱππημολγοί. (Hom. Il. xiii. 6, 7; Hes. Fr. 122; Herod. iv. 2; Callimach. *Hymn. ad Dian.* l. 252; Nic. Damasc. Fr. 123; &c.)

[10] Herod. iv. 61. So too the modern Calmucks. (See De Hell's *Travels in the Steppes*, p. 244, E. T.)

[11] Herod. iv. 64, 65.

[12] Ibid. ch. 46. Compare Æschyl. *P. V.* l. 736.

[13] Ibid. iv. 70.

The nation of the Scythians comprised within it a number of distinct tribes.[14] At the head of all was a Royal tribe, corresponding to the "Golden Horde" of the Mongols, which was braver and more numerous than any other, and regarded all the remaining tribes in the light of slaves. To this belonged the families of the kings, who ruled by hereditary right, and seem to have exercised a very considerable authority.[15] We often hear of several kings as bearing rule at the same time; but there is generally some indication of disparity, from which we gather that the supreme power was really always lodged in the hands of a single man.

The religion of the Scythians was remarkable, and partook of the barbarity which characterised most of their customs. They worshipped the Sun and Moon, Fire, Air, Earth, Water, and a god whom Herodotus calls Hercules.[16] But their principal religious observance was the worship of the naked sword. The country was parcelled out into districts, and in every district was a huge pile of brushwood, serving as a temple to the neighbourhood, at the top of which was planted an antique sword or scimitar.[17] On a stated day in each year solemn sacrifices, human and animal, were offered at these shrines; and the warm blood of the victims was carried up from below and poured upon the weapon. The human victims—prisoners taken in war—were hewn to pieces at the foot of the mound, and their limbs wildly tossed on high by the votaries, who then retired, leaving the bloody fragments where they chanced to fall. The Scythians seem to have had no priest caste; but they believed

[14] Herod. chs. 17-20. [15] Ibid. ch. 81. [16] Ibid. ch. 59. [17] Ibid. ch. 62.

in divination; and the diviners formed a distinct class which possessed important powers. They were sent for whenever the king was ill, to declare the cause of his illness, which they usually attributed to the fact that an individual, whom they named, had sworn falsely by the Royal Hearth. Those accused in this way, if found guilty by several bodies of diviners, were beheaded for the offence, and their original accusers received their property.[1] It must have been important to keep on good terms with persons who wielded such a power as this.

Such were the most striking customs of the Scythian people, or at any rate of the Scythians of Herodotus, who were the dominant race over a large portion of the Steppe country.[2] Coarse and repulsive in their appearance, fierce in their tempers, savage in their habits; not individually very brave, but powerful by their numbers, and by a mode of warfare which was difficult to meet, and in which long use had given them great expertness, they were an enemy who might well strike alarm even into a nation so strong and warlike as the Medes. Pouring through the passes of the Caucasus—whence coming or what intending none knew[3] — horde after horde of

[1] Herod. iv. 68, 69.

[2] The Scythians Proper of Herodotus and Hippocrates extended from the Danube and the Carpathians on the one side, to the Tanais or Don upon the other. The Sauromatæ, a race at least half-Scythic (Herod. iv. 110-117), then succeeded, and held the country from the Tanais to the Wolga. Beyond this were the Massagetæ, Scythian in dress and customs (ib. i. 215), reaching down to the Jaxartes on the east side of the Caspian. In the same neighbourhood were the Asiatic Scyths or Sacæ, who seem to have bordered upon the Bactrians.

[3] The opinion of Herodotus that they entered Asia *in pursuit of the Cimmerians* is childish, and may safely be set aside. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 301, 2nd edition; compare Mr. Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 431, 2nd edition.) The two movements may, however, have been in some degree connected, both resulting from some great disturbance among the races peopling the Steppe region.

Scythians blackened the rich plains of the South. On they came, as before observed, like a flight of locusts, countless, irresistible—swarming into Iberia and Upper Media—finding the land before them a garden, and leaving it behind them a howling wilderness. Neither age nor sex would be spared. The inhabitants of the open country and of the villages, if they did not make their escape to high mountain tops or other strongholds, would be ruthlessly massacred by the invaders, or, at best, forced to become their slaves.[4] The crops would be consumed, the herds swept off or destroyed, the villages and homesteads burnt, the whole country made a scene of desolation. Their ravages would resemble those of the Huns when they poured into Italy,[5] or of the Bulgarians when they overran the fairest provinces of the Byzantine Empire.[6] In most instances the strongly fortified towns would resist them, unless they had patience to sit down before their walls and by a prolonged blockade to starve them into submission. Sometimes, before things reached this point, they might consent to receive a tribute and to retire. At other times, convinced that by perseverance they would reap a rich reward, they may have remained till the besieged city fell, when there must have ensued an indescribable scene of havoc, rapine, and bloodshed. According to the broad expression of Herodotus, the Scythians were masters of the whole of Western Asia from the Caucasus to the borders of Egypt for the space of twenty-eight years.[7] This statement is doubtless an exaggeration ;

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[4] On the employment of slaves by the Scythians see Herod. iv. 1-4.

[5] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. iv. pp. 239-245, Smith's edition.

[6] Ibid. vol. v. pp. 170-172.

[7] Herod. i. 106 ; iv. 1, &c.

but still it would seem to be certain that the great invasion of which he speaks was not confined to Media, but extended to the adjacent countries of Armenia and Assyria, whence it spread to Syria and Palestine. The hordes probably swarmed down from Media through the Zagros passes into the richest portion of Assyria, the flat country between the mountains and the Tigris. The old cities, rich with the accumulated stores of ages, were besieged, and perhaps taken, and their palaces wantonly burnt, by the barbarous invaders. The tide then swept on. Wandering from district to district, plundering everywhere, settling nowhere, the clouds of horse passed over Mesopotamia, the force of the invasion becoming weaker as it spread itself, until in Syria it reached its term through the policy of the Egyptian king Psammetichus. This monarch, who was engaged in the siege of Ashdod,[8] no sooner heard of the approach of a great Scythian host, which threatened to overrun Egypt, and had advanced as far as Ascalon, than he sent ambassadors to their leader and prevailed on him by rich gifts to abstain from his enterprise.[9] From this time the power of the invaders seems to have declined. Their strength could not but suffer by the long series of battles, sieges, and skirmishes in which they were engaged year after year against enemies in no wise contemptible; it would likewise deteriorate through their excesses;[10] and it may even have received some injury from intestine quarrels. After a while, the nations whom they had overrun, whose armies they

[8] Herod. ii. 157.
[9] Ibid. i. 105.
[10] The tale connecting the Enarees with the Syrian Venus and the sack of Ascalon (Ibid.) seems to glance at this source of weakness.

had defeated, and whose cities they had given to the flames, began to recover themselves. Saracus, among others, repaired his walls, and began building himself a new palace at Calah. Cyaxares, it is probable, commenced an aggressive war against such of the invaders as had remained within the limits of his dominions, and soon drove them beyond his borders.[11] Other kings may have followed his example. In a little while—long, probably, before the twenty-eight years of Herodotus had expired—the Scythian power was completely broken. Many bands may have returned across the Caucasus into the Steppe country. Others submitted and took service under the native rulers of Asia.[12] Great numbers were slain; and except in a province of Armenia, which henceforward became known as Sacasêné,[1] and perhaps in one Syrian town, which we find called Scythopolis,[2] the invaders left no trace of their brief but terrible inroad.

If we have been right in supposing that the Scythian attack fell with as much severity on the Assyrians as on any other Asiatic people, we can scarcely be in error if we ascribe to this cause the rapid and sudden decline of the Empire under its last monarch. The country had been ravaged and depopulated, the provinces had been plundered, many of

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[11] Herod. i. 106; iv. 4.

[12] Ibid. i. 73.

[1] The Sacassani or Sacesinæ were first mentioned by the historians of Alexander (Arrian, *Exp. Al.* iii. 8). Their country, Sacasêné, is regarded as a part of Armenia by Strabo (xi. p. 767), Eustathius (ad Dionys. Per. l. 750), and others. It lay towards the north-east, near Albania and Iberia. (Plin. *H. N.* vi. 10; Arrian, l. s. c.)

[2] The earliest mention of Scythopolis is probably that in the LXX. version of Judges (i. 27), where it is identified with Beth-shean or Beth-Shan. The first profane writer who mentions it is Polybius (v. 70, § 4). No writer states how it obtained the name, until we come down to Syncellus (ab. A.D. 800), who connects the change with this invasion.

the great towns had been taken and sacked, the palaces of the old kings had been burnt,[3] and all the gold and silver that was not hid away had been carried off. Assyria, when the Scythians quitted her, was but the shadow of her former self. Weak and exhausted, she seemed to invite a permanent conqueror. If her limits had not much shrunk, if the provinces still acknowledged her authority, it was from habit rather than from fear, or because they too had suffered greatly from the Northern barbarians. The common calamity had perhaps drawn closer the bands between the sovereign state and its vassals, which in ordinary times had very little restraining power. We find Babylon subject to Assyria to the very last;[4] and we seem to see that Judæa passed from the rule of the Assyrians under that of the Babylonians, without any interval of independence or any need of re-conquest. But if these two powers at the south-eastern and the south-western extremities of the empire continued faithful, the less distant nations could scarcely have thrown off the yoke.

Saracus, then, on the withdrawal of the barbarians, had still an empire to rule, and he may be supposed to have commenced some attempts at re-organizing and re-invigorating the governmental system to which the domination of the Scyths must have given a rude shock. At Calah he certainly began the construction of a building, which apparently was intended for a palace, but which contrasts most painfully with the palatial erections of former kings. The waning

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[3] The palaces at Calah (Nimrud) *must*, I think, have been burnt before the last king commenced the S.E. edifice. Those of Nineveh may have escaped till the capture by the Medes.

[4] Abyden. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 9. (See the passage which is quoted at length, supra, p. 505, note [1].)

glory of the monarchy was made patent both to the nation and to strangers by an edifice where coarse slabs of common limestone, unsculptured and uninscribed, replaced the alabaster bas-reliefs of former times; and where a simple plaster above the slabs[5] was the substitute for the richly patterned enamelled bricks of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Asshur-bani-pal. A set of small chambers, of which no one exceeded forty-five feet in length and twenty-five feet in its greatest breadth, sufficed for the last Assyrian king, whose shrunken Court could no longer have filled the vast halls of his ancestors. The Nimrud palace of Saracus seems to have covered less than one half of the space occupied by any former palace upon the mound; it had no grand façade, no magnificent gateway; the rooms, curiously misshapen,[6] as if taste had declined with power and wealth, were mostly small and inconvenient, running in suites which opened into one another without any approaches from courts or passages, roughly paved with limestone flags, and composed of sun-dried bricks faced with limestone and plaster. That Saracus should have been reduced even to contemplate residing in this poor and mean dwelling is the strongest possible proof of Assyria's decline and decay at a period preceding by some years her final destruction.

It is possible that this edifice may not have been completed at the time of Saracus's death, and in that case we may suppose that its extreme rudeness would have received certain embellishments had he lived to finish the structure. While it was being erected, he

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[5] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. pp. 38, 39; *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 655.

[6] See Mr. Layard's Plan (*Nineveh and its Remains*, p. 39).

must have resided elsewhere. Apparently, he held his court at Nineveh during this period; and it was certainly there that he made his last arrangements for defence,[7] and his final stand against the enemy, who took advantage of his weak condition to press forward the conquest of the empire.

The Medes, in their strong upland country, abounding in rocky hills, and running up in places into mountain-chains, had probably suffered much less from the ravages of the Scyths than the Assyrians in their comparatively defenceless plains. Of all the nations exposed to the scourge of the invasion they were evidently the first to recover themselves,[8] partly from the local causes here noticed, partly perhaps from their inherent vigour and strength. If Herodotus's date for the original inroad of the Scythians is correct,[9] not many years can have elapsed before the tide of war turned, and the Medes began to make head against their assailants, recovering possession of most parts of their country, and expelling or overpowering the hordes at whose insolent domination they had chafed from the first hour of the invasion. It was probably as early as B.C. 627, five years after the Scyths crossed the Caucasus, according to Herodotus, that Cyaxares, having sufficiently re-established his power in Media, began once more to aspire after foreign conquests. Casting his eyes around upon the neighbouring countries, he became

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[7] Abydenus, l. s. c.

[8] Herod. i. 106; iv. 4.

[9] I do not regard this date as possessing much value, since the Median chronology of Herodotus is purely artificial. (See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 340-342.) I incline to believe that the Scythian invasion took place earlier than Herodotus allows, and that eight or ten years intervened between the first appearance of the Scyths in Media and the second siege of Nineveh by Cyaxares.

aware of the exhaustion of Assyria, and perceived that she was not likely to offer an effectual resistance to a sudden and vigorous attack. He therefore collected a large army and invaded Assyria from the east, while it would seem that the Susianians, with whom he had perhaps made an alliance, attacked her from the south.[10]

To meet this double danger, Saracus, the Assyrian king, determined on dividing his forces; and, while he entrusted a portion of them to a general, Nabopolassar, who had orders to proceed to Babylon and engage the enemy advancing from the sea, he himself with the remainder made ready to receive the Medes. In idea this was probably a judicious disposition of the troops at his disposal; it was politic to prevent a junction of the two assailing powers; and, as the greater danger was that which threatened from the Medes, it was well for the king to reserve himself with the bulk of his forces to meet this enemy. But the most prudent arrangements may be disconcerted by the treachery of those who are entrusted with their execution; and so it was in the present instance. The faithless Nabopolassar saw in his sovereign's difficulty his own opportunity; and, instead of marching against Assyria's enemies, as his duty required him, he secretly negotiated an arrangement with Cyaxares, agreed to become his ally against the Assyrians, and obtained the Median king's daughter as a bride for Nebuchadnezzar, his eldest son.[1] Cyaxares and Nabopolassar then joined their

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[10] The "turmæ vulgi collecticiæ quæ à mari adversus Saracum adventabant" (Abyd. l. s. c.) can only, I think, be Susianians, or Susianians assisted by Chaldæans.

[1] See above, p. 505, note [1]; and compare Polyhistor (ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 210, A.), Τοῦτον [τὸν Ναβοπολάσαρον] ὁ Πολυίστωρ Ἀλέξανδρος Σαρδανάπαλλον καλεῖ

efforts against Nineveh;[2] and Saracus, unable to resist them, took counsel of his despair, and, after all means of resistance were exhausted, burned himself in his palace.[3] It is uncertain whether we possess any further historical details of the siege. The narrative of Ctesias may embody a certain number of the facts, as it certainly represented with truth the strange yet not incredible termination.[4] But, on the other hand, we cannot feel sure, with regard to any statement made solely by that writer, that it has any other source than his imagination. Hence the description of the last siege of Nineveh, as given by Diodorus on the authority of Ctesias, seems undeserving of a place in history, though the attention of the curious may properly be directed to it.[5]

πέμψαντα πρὸς Ἀστυάγην σατράπην Μηδείας καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἀμυΐτην λαβόντα νύμφην εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσωρ. Or, as Eusebius reports him (*Chron. Can.* Pars 1ma, c. iv.), "Jam post Sammughem imperavit Chaldæis Sardanapallus xxi. annis. Is ad Asdahagem, qui erat Medicæ gentis præses et satrapa, copias auxiliares misit, videlicet ut filio suo Nabucodrossoro desponderet Amuhiam e filiabus Asdahagis unam."

[2] See, besides Abydenus and Polyhistor, Tobit xiv. 15 (where both kings, however, are wrongly named), and Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 5, § 1.

[3] Abyden. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* Pars 1ma, c. ix. p. 25; Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 210, B.

[4] The self-immolation of Saracus has a parallel in the conduct of the Israelitish king, Zimri, who, "when he saw that the city was taken, went into the palace of the king's house, and *burnt the king's house over him, and died*" (1 Kings xvi. 18); and again in that of the Persian governor, Boges, who burnt himself with his wives and children at Eïon (Herod. vii. 107).

[5] See Diod. Sic. ii. 24-27. According to Ctesias, the Medes were accompanied by the Persians, and the Babylonians by some Arabian allies. The assailing army numbered 400,000. In the first engagement the Assyrians were victorious, and the attacking army had to fly to the mountains (Zagros). A second and a third attempt met with no better success. The fortune of war first changed on the arrival of a contingent from Bactria, who joined the assailants in a night attack on the Assyrian camp, which was completely successful. The Assyrian monarch sought the shelter of his capital, leaving his army under the command of his brother-in-law Salæmenes. Salæmenes was soon defeated and slain; and the siege of the city then commenced. It continued for more than two years without result. In the third year an unusually wet season caused the river to rise extraordinarily, and destroy above two miles (?) of the city wall; upon which

The empire of the Assyrians thus fell, not so much from any inherent weakness, nor from the effect of gradual decay, but by an unfortunate combination of circumstances—the occurrence of a terrible inroad of Northern barbarians just at the time when a warlike nation, long settled on the borders of Assyria, and within a short distance of her capital, was increasing, partly by natural and regular causes, partly by accidental and abnormal ones, in greatness and strength. It will be proper, in treating of the history of Media, to trace out, as far as our materials allow, these various causes, and to examine the mode and extent of their operation. But such an inquiry is not suited for this place, since, if fully made, it would lead us too far away from our present subject, which is the history of Assyria; while, if made partially, it would be unsatisfactory. It is therefore deferred to another volume. The sketch here attempted of Assyrian history will now be brought to a close by a few observations on the general nature of the monarchy, on its extent in the most flourishing period, and on the character of its civilisation.[6]

The independent kingdom of Assyria covered a

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the king, whom an oracle had told to fear nothing till the river became his enemy, despaired, and making a funeral pile of all his richest furniture, burnt himself with his concubines and his eunuchs in his palace. The Medes and their allies then entered the town on the side which the flood had laid open, and after plundering it, destroyed it.

[6] The author has transferred these observations, with such alterations as the progress of discovery has rendered necessary, from an Essay "On the Chronology and History of the Great Assyrian Empire," which he published in 1858, in his *Herodotus*. He found that five years of additional study of the subject had changed none of his views, and that if he wrote a new "Summary," he would merely repeat in other words what he had already written with a good deal of care. Under these circumstances, and having reason to believe that the present work is read in quarters to which his version of Herodotus never penetrated, he has thought that a republication of his former remarks would be open to no valid objection.

space of at least a thousand years; but the empire can only, at the utmost, be considered to have lasted six centuries and a half, from B.C. 1270 or B.C. 1273 to B.C. 625—the date of the conquest of Cyaxares. In reality, the period of extensive domination seems to have commenced with Asshur-ris-elim,[7] about B.C. 1150, so that the duration of the true empire did not much exceed five centuries. The limits of the dominion varied considerably within this period, the empire expanding or contracting according to the circumstances of the time and the personal character of the prince by whom the throne was occupied. The extreme extent appears not to have been reached until almost immediately before the last rapid decline set in, the widest dominion belonging to the time of Asshur-bani-pal, the conqueror of Egypt, of Susiana, and of the Armenians.[8] In the latter part of this prince's reign Assyria was paramount over the portion of Western Asia included between the Mediterranean and the Halys on the one hand, the Caspian Sea and the great Persian desert on the other. Southwards the boundary was formed by Arabia and the Persian Gulf; northwards it seems at no time to have advanced to the Euxine or to the Caucasus, but to have been formed by a fluctuating line, which did not in the most flourishing period extend so far as the northern frontier of Armenia. Besides her Asiatic dominions Assyria possessed also at this time a portion of Africa, her authority being acknowledged by Egypt as far as the latitude of Thebes. The countries included within the limits thus indicated, and subject during the period in question to

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[7] Supra, pp. 308-310.

[8] Supra, pp. 493, 494.

Assyrian influence, were chiefly the following:—Susiana, Chaldæa, Babylonia, Media, Matiene or the Zagros range, Mesopotamia; parts of Armenia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia; Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, Idumæa, a portion of Arabia, and almost the whole of Egypt. The island of Cyprus was also, it is probable, a dependency. On the other hand, Persia Proper, Bactria, and Sogdiana, even Hyrcania, were beyond the eastern limit of the Assyrian sway, which towards the north did not on this side reach further than about the neighbourhood of Kasvin, and towards the south was confined within the mountain barrier of Zagros. Similarly on the west, Phrygia, Lydia,[9] Lycia, even Pamphylia, were independent, the Assyrian arms having never, so far as appears, penetrated beyond Cilicia or crossed the river Halys.

The nature of the dominion established by the great Mesopotamian monarchy over the countries included within the limits above indicated, will perhaps be best understood if we compare it with the empire of Solomon. Solomon "reigned over *all the kingdoms* from the river (Euphrates) unto the land of the Philistines and unto the border of Egypt: they *brought presents* and *served* Solomon all the days of his life."[1] The first and most striking feature of the earliest empires is, that they are a mere congeries of kingdoms: the countries over which the dominant state acquires an influence, not only retain their

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[9] The homage of Lydia on a single occasion is not enough to indicate a real subjection to Assyria.

[1] 1 Kings iv. 21. Compare ver. 24; and for the complete organisation of the empire, see ch. x., where it appears that the kings "brought every man his present, *a rate year by year*" (ver. 25); and that the amount of the annual revenue from all sources was 666 talents of gold (ver. 14). See also 2 Chron. ix. 13-28, and Ps. lxxii. 8-11.

distinct individuality, as is the case in some modern empires,[2] but remain in all respects such as they were before, with the simple addition of certain obligations contracted towards the paramount authority. They keep their old laws, their old religion, their line of kings, their law of succession, their whole internal organisation and machinery; they only acknowledge an external suzerainty, which binds them to the performance of certain duties towards the Head of the Empire. These duties, as understood in the earliest times, may be summed up in the two words "homage" and "tribute;" the subject kings "serve" and "bring presents;" they are bound to acts of submission, must attend the court of their suzerain when summoned,[3] unless they have a reasonable excuse, must there salute him as a superior, and otherwise acknowledge his rank;[4] above all, they must pay him regularly the fixed tribute which has been imposed upon them at the time of their submission or subjection, the unauthorised withholding of which is open and avowed rebellion.[5] Finally, they must allow his troops free passage through their dominions, and must oppose any attempt at invasion by way of their country on the part of his enemies.[6] Such are the earliest and most essential obligations on the part of the subject states in an empire of the primitive

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[2] Our own for instance, and the Austrian.

[3] There are several cases of this kind in the Inscriptions. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xix. p. 145; *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 56, &c.) Perhaps the visit of Ahaz to Tiglath-Pileser (2 Kings xvi. 10) was of this character.

[4] Cf. Ps. lxxii. 11: "All kings shall fall down before him." This is said primarily of Solomon. The usual expression in the Inscriptions is that the subject kings "kissed the sceptre" of the Assyrian monarch.

[5] See 2 Kings xvii. 4, and the Inscriptions *passim*.

[6] Josiah perhaps perished in the performance of this duty (2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20-23).

type, like that of Assyria; and these obligations, with the corresponding one on the part of the dominant power of the protection of its dependants against foreign foes, appear to have constituted the sole links[7] which joined together in one the heterogeneous materials of which that empire consisted.

It is evident that a government of the character here described contains within it elements of constant disunion and disorder. Under favourable circumstances, with an active and energetic prince upon the throne, there is an appearance of strength, and a realisation of much magnificence and grandeur. The subject monarchs pay annually their due share of "the regulated tribute of the empire;"[8] and the better to secure the favour of their common sovereign, add to it presents, consisting of the choicest produc-

[7] In some empires of this type, the subject states have an additional obligation—that of furnishing contingents to swell the armies of the dominant power. But there is no clear evidence of the Assyrians having raised troops in this way. The testimony of the book of Judith is worthless; and perhaps the circumstance that Nebuchodonosor is made to collect his army from all quarters (as the Persians were wont to do) may be added to the proofs elsewhere adduced (see the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 195, 2nd ed.) of the lateness of its composition. We do not find, either in Scripture or in the Inscriptions, any proof of the Assyrian armies being composed of others than the dominant race. Mr. Vance Smith assumes the contrary (Prophecies, &c., pp. 92, 183, 201); but the only passage which is important among all those explained by him in this sense (Isa. xxii. 6) is very doubtfully referred to an attack on Jerusalem *by the Assyrians*. Perhaps it is the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar which forms the subject of the prophetic vision, as Babylon itself has been the main figure in the preceding chapter. The negative of course cannot be proved; but there seem to be no grounds for concluding that "the various subject races were incorporated into the Assyrian army." An Assyrian army, it should be remembered, does not ordinarily exceed one, or at most two, hundred thousand men.

[8] This is an expression not uncommon in the Inscriptions. We may gather from a passage in Sennacherib's annals, where it occurs, that the Assyrian tribute was of the nature either of a poll-tax or of a land-tax. For when portions of Hezekiah's dominions were taken from him and bestowed on neighbouring princes, the Assyrian king tells us that "according as he increased the dominions of the other chiefs, so he augmented the amount of tribute which they were to pay to the imperial treasury."

tions of their respective kingdoms.[9] The material resources of the different countries are placed at the disposal of the dominant power;[10] and skilled workmen[11] are readily lent for the service of the court, who adorn or build the temples and the royal residences, and transplant the luxuries and refinements of their several states to the imperial capital. But no sooner does any untoward event occur, as a disastrous expedition, a foreign attack, a domestic conspiracy, or even an untimely and unexpected death of the reigning prince, than the inherent weakness of this sort of government at once displays itself—the whole fabric of the empire falls asunder—each kingdom re-asserts its independence—tribute ceases to be paid—and the mistress of a hundred states suddenly finds herself thrust back into her primitive condition, stripped of the dominion which has been her strength, and thrown entirely upon her own resources. Then the whole task of reconstruction has to be commenced anew—one by one the rebel countries are overrun and the rebel monarchs chastised—tribute is reimposed, submission enforced, and in fifteen or twenty years the empire has perhaps recovered itself. Progress is of course slow and uncertain, where the

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[9] It is not always easy to separate the tribute from the presents, as the tribute itself is sometimes paid partly in kind (supra, p. 315); but in the case of Hezekiah we may clearly draw the distinction, by comparing Scripture with the account given by Sennacherib. The tribute in this instance was "300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold" (2 Kings xviii. 14); the additional presents were, 500 talents of silver, various mineral products, thrones and beds and rich furniture, the skins and horns of beasts, coral, ivory, and amber.

[10] The Assyrian kings are in the habit of cutting cedar and other timber in Lebanon and Amanus. Tiglath-Pileser I. derived marbles from the country of the Naïri (supra, p. 320).

[11] *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xix. pp. 137, 148, &c. Sennacherib uses Phœnicians to construct his vessels on the Tigris and to navigate them. (See above, p. 448.)

empire has continually to be built up again from its foundations, and where at any time a day may undo the work which it has taken centuries to accomplish.

To discourage and check the chronic disease of rebellion, recourse is had to severe remedies, which diminish the danger to the central power at the cost of extreme misery and often almost entire ruin to the subject kingdoms. Not only are the lands wasted, the flocks and herds carried off,[1] the towns pillaged and burnt, or in some cases razed to the ground, the rebel king deposed and his crown transferred to another, the people punished by the execution of hundreds or thousands,[2] as well as by an augmentation of the tribute money;[3] but sometimes wholesale deportation of the inhabitants is practised, tens or hundreds of thousands being carried away captive by the conquerors,[4] and either employed in servile labour at the capital,[5] or settled as colonists in a distant province. With this practice the history of the Jews, in which it forms so prominent a feature, has made

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[1] The numbers are often marvellous. Sennacherib in one foray drives off 7200 horses, 11,000 mules, 5230 camels, 120,000 oxen, and 800,000 sheep! Sometimes the sheep and oxen are said to be "countless as the stars of heaven."

[2] The usual modes of punishment are beheading and impaling. Asshur-idanni-pal impales on one occasion "thirty chiefs;" on another he beheads 250 warriors; on a third he impales captives on every side of the rebellious city. Compare the conduct of Darius (Herod. iii. 159).

[3] This frequently takes place. (See above, pp. 339, 342, &c.) Hezekiah evidently expects an augmentation when he says, "That which thou puttest upon me I will bear" (2 Kings xviii. 14).

[4] It has been noticed (supra, pp. 430 and 436) that Sennacherib carried into captivity from Judæa more than 200,000 persons, and an equal or greater number from the tribes along the Euphrates. The practice is constant, but the numbers are not commonly given.

[5] As the Aramæans, Chaldæans, Armenians, and Cilicians, by Sennacherib (supra, p. 463), and the numerous captives who built his temples and palaces, by Sargon (*Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 31). The captives may be seen engaged in their labours, under taskmasters, upon the monuments. (Supra, vol. i. p. 497.)

us familiar. It seems to have been known to the Assyrians from very early times,[6] and to have become by degrees a sort of settled principle in their government. In the most flourishing period of their dominion—the reigns of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon—it prevailed most widely and was carried to the greatest extent. Chaldæans were transported into Armenia,[7] Jews and Israelites into Assyria and Media,[8] Arabians, Babylonians, Susianians, and Persians into Palestine[9]—the most distant portions of the empire changed inhabitants, and no sooner did a people become troublesome from its patriotism and love of independence, than it was weakened by dispersion and its spirit subdued by a severance of all its local associations. Thus rebellion was in some measure kept down, and the position of the central or sovereign state was rendered so far more secure; but this comparative security was gained by a great sacrifice of strength, and when foreign invasion came, the subject kingdoms, weakened at once and alienated by the treatment which they had received, were found to have neither the will nor the power to give any effectual aid to their enslaver.[1]

Such, in its broad and general outlines, was the empire of the Assyrians. It embodied the earliest, simplest, and most crude conception which the human

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[6] See the annals of Asshur-idannipal, where, however, the numbers carried off are small—in one case 2600, in another 2500, in others 1200, 500, and 300. Women at this period are carried off in vast numbers, and become the wives of the soldiery.

[7] By Sargon (supra, p. 423).

[8] 2 Kings xvii. 6, and supra, p. 436 and l. s. c.

[9] 2 Kings xvii. 24, and Ezra iv. 9.

[1] The case of Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 29), which may appear an exception, does not belong to Assyrian, but rather to Babylonian history.

mind forms of a widely extended dominion. It was a "kingdom-empire," like the empires of Solomon, of Nebuchadnezzar, of Chedor-laomer,[2] and probably of Cyaxares, and is the best specimen of its class, being the largest, the longest in duration, and the best known of all such governments that has existed. It exhibits in a marked way both the strength and weakness of this class of monarchies—their strength in the extraordinary magnificence, grandeur, wealth, and refinement of the capital; their weakness in the impoverishment, the exhaustion, and the consequent disaffection of the subject states. Ever falling to pieces, it was perpetually reconstructed by the genius and prowess of a long succession of warrior princes, seconded by the skill and bravery of the people. Fortunate in possessing for a long time no very powerful neighbour,[3] it found little difficulty in extending itself throughout regions divided and subdivided among hundreds of petty chiefs,[4] incapable of union, and singly quite unable to contend with the forces of a large and populous country. Frequently endangered by revolts, yet always triumphing over them, it maintained itself for five centuries, gradually advancing its influence, and was only overthrown after a fierce struggle by a new kingdom[5] formed

[2] Gen. xiv. 1-12. See above, vol. i. pp. 203-205.

[3] Babylonia and Susiana are the only large countries bordering upon Assyria which appear to have been in any degree centralised. But even in Babylonia there are constantly found cities which have independent kings, and Chaldæa was always under a number of chieftains.

[4] In the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I. and Asshur-idanni-pal, each city of Mesopotamia and Syria seems to have its king. Twelve kings of the Hittites, twenty-four kings of the Tibareni (*Tubal*), and twenty-seven kings of the *Partsu*, are mentioned by Shalmaneser II. The Phœnician and Philistine cities are always separate and independent. In Media and Bikan during the reign of Esar-haddon, every town has its chief. Armenia is perhaps less divided: still it is not permanently under a single king.

[5] Although Assyria came into

upon its borders, which, taking advantage of a time of exhaustion, and leagued with the most powerful of the subject states, was enabled to accomplish the destruction of the long-dominant people.

In the curt and dry records of the Assyrian monarchs, while the broad outlines of the government are well marked, it is difficult to distinguish those nicer shades of system and treatment which no doubt existed, and in which the empire of the Assyrians differed probably from others of the same type. One or two such points, however, may perhaps be made out. In the first place, though religious uniformity is certainly not the law of the empire, yet a religious character appears in many of the wars,[6] and attempts at any rate seem to be made to diffuse everywhere a knowledge and recognition of the gods of Assyria. Nothing is more universal than the practice of setting up in the subject countries "the laws of Asshur" or "altars to the Great Gods." In some instances not only altars but temples are erected, and priests are left to superintend the worship and secure its being properly conducted. The history of Judæa is, however, enough to show that the continuance of the national worship was at least tolerated, though some formal acknowledgment of the presiding deities of Assyria on the part of the subject nations may not improbably have been required in most cases.[7]

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contact with Median tribes as early as the reign of Shalmaneser II. (B.C. 850), yet the Median kingdom which conquered Assyria must be regarded as a new formation—the consequence of a great immigration from the East, perhaps led by Cyaxares.

[5] See above, p. 323.

[7] It is probable that the altar which Ahaz saw at Damascus, and of which he sent a pattern to Jerusalem (2 Kings xvi. 10), was Assyrian rather than Syrian, and that he adopted the worship connected with it in deference to his Assyrian suzerain.

Secondly, there is an indication that in certain countries immediately bordering on Assyria endeavours were made from time to time to centralise and consolidate the empire, by substituting, on fit occasions, for the native chiefs, Assyrian officers as governors. The persons appointed are of two classes —"collectors" and "treasurers." Their special business is, of course, as their names imply, to gather in the tribute due to the Great King, and secure its safe transmission to the capital; but they seem to have been, at least in some instances, entrusted with the civil government of their respective districts.[8] It does not appear that this system was ever extended very far. The Euphrates on the west, and Mount Zagros on the east, may be regarded as the extreme limits of the centralised Assyria. Armenia, Media, Babylonia, Susiana, Syria, Phœnicia,[9] Palestine, Philistia, retained to the last their native monarchs; and thus Assyria, despite the feature here noticed, kept upon the whole her character of a "kingdom-empire."

The civilisation of the Assyrians is a large subject, on which former chapters of this work have, it is hoped, thrown some light, and upon which only a very few remarks will be here offered by way of recapitulation. Deriving originally letters and the elements of learning from Babylonia, the Assyrians appear to have been content with the knowledge thus obtained, and neither in literature nor in science to have progressed much beyond their instructors. The

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[8] See above, pp. 417, 420, 430, &c.

[9] For a single exception in this district, see above, p. 467. The continuance of native kings in these parts is strongly marked by the list of 22 subject monarchs in an inscription of Esar-haddon (supra, p. 483, note [8]).

heavy incubus of a dead language[1] lay upon all those who desired to devote themselves to scientific pursuits, and, owing to this, knowledge tended to become the exclusive possession of a learned, or perhaps a priest class, which did not aim at progress, but was satisfied to hand on the traditions of former ages. To understand the genius of the Assyrian people we must look to their art and their manufactures. These are in the main probably of native growth, and from them we may best gather an impression of the national character. They show us a patient, laborious, painstaking people, with more appreciation of the useful than the ornamental, and of the actual than the ideal. Architecture, the only one of the fine arts which is essentially useful, forms their chief glory; sculpture, and still more painting, are subsidiary to it. Again, it is the most useful edifice—the palace or house—whereon attention is concentrated—the temple and the tomb, the interest attaching to which is ideal and spiritual, are secondary, and appear (so far as they appear at all) simply as appendages of the palace. In the sculpture it is the actual—the historically true—which the artist strives to represent. Unless in the case of a few mythic figures connected with the religion of the country, there is nothing in the Assyrian bas-reliefs which is not imitated from nature. The imitation is always laborious and often most accurate and exact. The laws of representation, as we understand them, are sometimes departed from, but it is always to impress the spectator with ideas in accordance with

[1] The old scientific treatises appear to have been in the Hamitic or Turanian dialect of the Proto-Chaldæans. It was not till the time of Asshur-bani-pal that translations were made to any great extent.

truth. Thus the colossal bulls and lions have five legs, but in order that they may be seen from every point of view with four—the ladders are placed *edgeways* against the walls of besieged towns, but it is to show that they are ladders, and not mere poles —walls of cities are made disproportionately small, but it is done, like Raphael's boat, to bring them within the picture, which would otherwise be a less complete representation of the actual fact. The careful finish, the minute detail, the elaboration of every hair in a beard, and every stitch in the embroidery of a dress, remind us of the Dutch school of painting, and illustrate strongly the spirit of faithfulness and honesty which pervades the sculptures, and gives them so great a portion of their value. In conception, in grace, in freedom and correctness of outline, they fall undoubtedly far behind the inimitable productions of the Greeks; but they have a grandeur and a dignity, a boldness, a strength, and an appearance of life, which render them even intrinsically valuable as works of art, and, considering the time at which they were produced, must excite our surprise and admiration. Art, so far as we know, had existed previously, only in the stiff and lifeless conventionalism of the Egyptians. It belonged to Assyria to confine the conventional to religion, and to apply art to the vivid representation of the highest scenes of human life. War in all its forms—the march, the battle, the pursuit, the siege of towns, the passage of rivers and marshes, the submission and treatment of captives—and the "mimic war" of hunting, the chase of the lion, the stag, the antelope, the wild bull, and the wild ass—are the chief subjects treated by the Assyrian sculptors; and in these the con-

ventional is discarded; fresh scenes, new groupings, bold and strange attitudes perpetually appear, and in the animal representations especially there is a continual advance, the latest being the most spirited, the most varied, and the most true to nature, though perhaps lacking somewhat of the majesty and grandeur of the earlier. With no attempt to idealise or go beyond nature, there is a growing power of depicting things as they are — an increased grace and delicacy of execution; showing that Assyrian art was progressive, not stationary, and giving a promise of still higher excellence, had circumstances permitted its development.

The art of Assyria has every appearance of thorough and entire nationality; but it is impossible to feel sure that her manufactures were in the same sense absolutely her own. The practice of borrowing skilled workmen from the conquered states would introduce into Nineveh and the other royal cities the fabrics of every region which acknowledged the Assyrian sway; and plunder, tribute, and commerce would unite to enrich them with the choicest products of all civilised countries. Still, judging by the analogy of modern times, it seems most reasonable to suppose that the bulk of the manufactured goods consumed in the country would be of home growth. Hence we may fairly assume that the vases, jars, bronzes, glass bottles, carved ornaments in ivory and mother-of-pearl, engraved gems, bells, dishes, earrings, arms, working implements, &c., which have been found at Nimrud, Khorsabad, and Koyunjik, are *mainly* the handiwork of the Assyrians. It has been conjectured that the rich garments represented as worn by the kings and others were the product of

Babylon,[2] always famous for its tissues; but even this is uncertain; and they are perhaps as likely to have been of home manufacture. At any rate the bulk of the ornaments, utensils, &c. may be regarded as native products. These are almost invariably of elegant form, and indicate a considerable knowledge of metallurgy and other arts,[3] as well as a refined taste. Among them are some which anticipate inventions believed till lately to have been modern. Transparent glass (which, however, was known also in ancient Egypt) is one of these;[4] but the most remarkable of all is the lens[5] discovered at Nimrud, of the use of which as a magnifying agent there is abundant proof.[6] If it be borne in mind, in addition to all this, that the buildings of the Assyrians show them to have been well acquainted with the principle of the arch, that they constructed tunnels, aqueducts, and drains, that they knew the use of the pulley, the lever, and the roller, that they understood the arts of inlaying, enamelling, and overlaying with metals, and that they cut gems with the greatest skill and finish, it will be apparent that their civilisation equalled that of almost any ancient country, and that it did not fall immeasurably behind the boasted achievements of the moderns. With much that was barbaric still attaching to them, with a rude and inartificial government, savage passions, a debasing religion, and a general tendency to materialism, they

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[2] Quarterly Review, No. clxvii., pp. 150, 151.

[3] See above, vol. i. pp. 453-462.

[4] See vol. i. p. 483.

[5] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 197.

[6] Long before the discovery of the Nimrud lens it had been concluded that the Assyrians used magnifying glasses, from the fact that the inscriptions were often so minute that they could not possibly be read, and therefore could not have been formed, without them. (See above, vol. i. pp. 330 and 485.)

were towards the close of their empire, in all the arts and appliances of life, very nearly on a par with ourselves; and thus their history furnishes a warning—which the records of nations constantly repeat—that the greatest material prosperity may co-exist with the decline—and herald the downfal—of a kingdom.

APPENDIX.

A.

ON THE MEANINGS OF THE ASSYRIAN ROYAL NAMES.

The names of the Assyrians, like those of the Hebrews, seem to have been invariably significant. Each name is a sentence, fully or elliptically expressed, and consists consequently of at least two elements. This number is frequently—indeed, commonly—increased to three; which are usually a noun in the nominative case, a verb active agreeing with it, and a noun in the objective or accusative case governed by the verb. The genius of the language requires that in names of this kind the nominative case should invariably be placed first; but there is no fixed rule as to the order of the two other words; the verb may be either preceded or followed by the accusative. The number of elements in an Assyrian name amounts in rare cases to four, a maximum reached by some Hebrew names, as Maher-shalal-hash-baz.[1] Only one or two of the royal names come under this category. No Assyrian name exceeds the number of four elements.

An example of the simplest form of name is Sar-gon, or Sargina, "the established king," *i. e.* "(I am) the established king." The roots are *Sar*, or in the full nominative, *sarru*, the common word for "king" (compare Heb. שַׂר, שָׂרָה, &c.), and *kin* (or *gin*),[2] "to establish," a root akin to the Hebrew כּוּן. M. Oppert thinks it certain, from the meaning of this name, that it must have been assumed by Sargon after he became king, and not given to him in his infancy.[3]

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[1] Isaiah viii. 3.

[2] *Gin* or *gina* is the Turanian equivalent of the Assyrian *kin* or *kina*.

[3] *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 8. Sir H. Rawlinson differs. He translates the name "the king establishes," or "established by the king."

A name equally simple is Buzur-Asshur, which means either "Asshur is a stronghold," or "Asshur is a treasure;" *buzur* being the Assyrian equivalent of the Hebrew בצר, which has this double signification. (See Gesen. *Lex.* p. 155.) A third name of the same simple form is Saül-mugina (Sammughes), which may mean "Saül (is) the establisher," *mugina* being the participial form of the same verb which occurs in Sar-*gina* or Sargon.[4]

There is another common form of Assyrian name consisting of two elements, the latter of which is the name of a god, while the former is either *shamas* or *shamsi* (Heb. שֶׁמֶשׁ), the common word for "servant," or else a term significative of worship, adoration, reverence, or the like. Of the former kind, there is but one royal name, viz., Shamas-Iva, "the servant of Iva," a name exactly resembling in its formation the Phœnician Abdistartus, the Hebrew Obadiah, Abdiel, etc., and the Arabic Abdallah.[5] Of the latter kind are the two royal names, Tiglathi-Nin and Mutaggil-Nebo. Tiglathi-Nin is from *tiglat* or *tiklat*, "adoration, reverence" (comp. Chald. תֻּכְּל, "to trust in"), and Nin or Ninip, the Assyrian Hercules. The meaning is "Adoratio (sit) Herculi"—"Let worship (be given to) Hercules." Mutaggil-Nebo is "confiding in" or "worshipping Nebo"—*mutaggil* being from the same root as *tiglat*, but the participle, instead of the abstract substantive. A name very similar in its construction is that of the Caliph Motawakkil Billah.[6]

With these names compounded of two elements it will be convenient to place one which is compounded of three, viz., Tiglath-Pileser, or *Tiglat-pal-zira*. This name has exactly the same meaning as Tiglathi-Nin—"Be worship given to Hercules;" the only difference being that Nin or Hercules is here designated by a favourite epithet, *Pal-zira*, instead of by any of his proper names. In *Pal-zira*, the first element is undoubtedly *pal*, "a son;" the other element is obscure;[7] all that we know of it is

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[4] Or Saül-mugina may be in good Turanian "Saül establishes me," the syllable *mu* being a separate element, sometimes equivalent to our "me."

[5] Other names of this kind are Abdi-Milkut (supra, p. 467), Abdolominus (or rather Abdalonimus), Abed-Nego, Abd-er-Rahman, Abd-el-Kader; and in another dialect, Kudur-Mabuk, Kudur-Nakhunta, Chedor-Laomer, etc.

[6] *Expédition Scientifique en Mésopotamie*, vol. ii. p. 352.

[7] Sir H. Rawlinson believes *Zira* to mean "lord," as *Zirat* certainly means "lady," "mistress," or "wife." *Bit-zira* would thus be "the Lord's house," or "the holy house."

that Nin was called "the son of *Zira*," apparently because he had a temple at Calah which was called *Bit-Zira*, or "the house of *Zira*."[8] M. Oppert believes *Zira* to be "the Zodiac;"[9] but there seem to be no grounds for this identification.

Names of the common threefold type are Asshur-iddin-akhi, Asshur-izzir-pal,[10] Sin-akhi-irib (Sennacherib), Asshur-akh-iddina (Esar-haddon), and Asshur-bani-pal. Asshur-iddin-akhi is "Asshur has given brothers," *iddin* being the third person singular of *nadan*, "to give" (comp. Heb. נָתַן), and *akhï* being the plural of *akhu*, "a brother" (comp. Heb. אָחִי). Asshur-izzir-pal is "Asshur protects (my) son," *izzir* (for *inzir*) being derived from a root corresponding to the Hebrew נצר, "to protect," and *pal* being (as already explained[11]) the Assyrian equivalent for the Hebrew בֵּן and the Syriac *bar*, "a son." The meaning of Sin-akhi-irib (Sennacherib) is "Sin (the Moon) has multiplied brethren," *irib* being from *raba* (Heb. רָבָה), "to augment, multiply." Asshur-akh-iddina is "Asshur has given a brother," from roots already explained; and Asshur-bani-pal is "Asshur has formed a son," from *Asshur*, *bani*, and *pal*; *bani* being the participle of *bana*, "to form, make" (comp. Heb. בָּנָה).

Other tri-elemental names are Asshur-ris-elim, Asshur-dah-il, Asshur-danin-il, Asshur-bel-kala, Nin-pala-zira, and Bel-sumili-kapi. Asshur-ris-elim either signifies "Asshur (is) the head of the gods," from Asshur, *ris*, which is equivalent to Heb. רֹאשׁ, "head," and *elim*, the plural of *il* or *el*, "god;" or perhaps it may mean "Asshur (is) high-headed," from *Asshur*, *ris*, and *elam*, "high," *ris-elim* being equivalent to the *sir-buland* of the modern Persians.[1] Asshur-danin-il is thought to mean "Asshur (is) a strengthening god," *danin*, which has no Hebrew equivalent, having that force in Assyrian.[2] Asshur-bel-kala means

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[8] See above, p. 255.

[9] *Expédition Scientifique*, l. s. c.

[10] Asshur-izzir-pal seems to be the true name of the king who has hitherto been called Sardanapalus I. or Asshur-idanni-pal.

[11] See vol. i. p. 342. In Semitic Babylonian *pal* becomes *bal*, as in Merodach-*bal*-adan, "Merodach has given a son;" whence the transition to the Syriac *bar* (as in Bar-Jesus, Bar-Jonas, &c.) was easy.

[1] Sir H. Rawlinson, in *Athenæum*, No. 1869, p. 244, note 7. *Elam*, "high," is to be connected with עַל and מַעֲלָה.

[2] *Danin* is Benoni of a root דנן constantly used in Assyrian in the sense of "being strong" or "strengthening." *Sarru dannu*, "the powerful king," is the standard expression in all the royal inscriptions. The root has not, I believe, any representative in other Semitic languages.

probably "Asshur (is) lord altogether," from *Asshur*, *bel* or *bil*, "a lord" (Heb. בַּעַל), and *kala*, "wholly;" a form connected with the Hebrew כֹּל or כָּל, "all." Nin-pala-zira is of course "Nin (Hercules) is the son of Zira," as already explained under Tiglath-pileser.[3] Bel-sumili-kapi is conjectured to be "Bel of the left hand,"[4] or "Bel (is) left-handed," from *Bel*, *sumilu*, an equivalent of שְׂמֹאל, "the left," and *kapu*, (=כַּף), "a hand." Of Asshur-dah-il—if that be the right reading of the name—no satisfactory explanation has been as yet given.

Only two Assyrian royal names appear to be compounded of four elements. These are the first and the last of our list, Asshur-bel-nisis, or, more fully, Asshur-bilu-nisi-su, and the king commonly called Asshur-emid-ilin, whose complete name was (it is thought) Asshur-emid-ili-kin, or possibly Asshur-kinat-ili-kain. The last king's name is thought to mean "Asshur is the establisher of the power of the gods"—the second element, which is sometimes written as *emid* (comp. עמד), sometimes as *nirik*, being translated in a vocabulary by *kinat*, "power," while the last element (which is omitted on the monarch's bricks) is of course from *kin* (the equivalent of כּוֹן), which has been explained under Sargon. The name of the other monarch presents no difficulty. Asshur-bilu-nisi-su means "Asshur (is) the lord of his people," from *bil* or *bilu*, "lord," *nis*, "a man" (comp. Heb. אֱנוֹשׁ), and *su*, "his" (=Heb. וֹ).

To these names of monarchs may be added one or two names of princes, which are mentioned in the records of the Assyrians, or elsewhere; as Asshur-danin-pal, the eldest son of the great Shalmaneser, and Adrammelech and Sharezer, sons of Sennacherib. Asshur-danin-pal seems to be "Asshur strengthens a son," from roots mentioned above. Adrammelech has been explained as *decus regis*, "the king's glory;"[5] but it would be more consonant with the propositional character of the names generally to translate it "the king (is) glorious," from *adir* (אדר or אדיר), "great, glorious," and *melek* (מֶלֶךְ), "a king." Or Adrammelech may be from *ediru* (comp. עדר), a common

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[3] Supra, p. 539.

[4] Sir H. Rawlinson, in *Athenæum*, No. 1869, p. 243, note [2].

[5] Oppert, *Expédition Scientifique en Mésopotamie*, vol. ii. p. 355.

Assyrian word meaning "the arranger" and *melek*, and may signify "the king arranges," or "the king is the arranger."[6] Sharezer, if that be the true reading, would seem to be "the king protects," from *sar* or *sarru*, "a king" (as in Sargon), and a form, *izzir*, from *nazar* or *natsar*,[7] " to guard, protect." The Armenian equivalent, however, for this name, San-asar, may be the proper form; and this would apparently be "The Moon (Sin) protects."

Nothing is more remarkable in this entire catalogue of names than their predominantly religious character. Of the thirty-nine kings and princes which the Assyrian lists furnish, the names of no fewer than thirty-one contain, as one element, either the name or the designation of a god. Of the remaining eight five have doubtful names,[1] so that there remain three only whose names are known to be of a purely secular character.[2] Fifteen names, one of which was borne by two kings, contain the element Asshur; three, two of which occur twice, contain the element Nin;[3] two, one of which was in such favour as to occur four times,[4] contain the element Iva; two contain the element Bel; one the element Nebo; and one the element Sin.[5] The names occasionally express mere facts of the mythology, as Nin-pala-zira, "Nin (is) the son of Zira," Bel-sumili-kapi, "Bel (is) left-handed," and the like. More often the fact enunciated is one in which the glorification of the deity is involved; as, Asshur-bilu-nisi-su, "Asshur (is) the lord of his people;" Buzur-Asshur, "a stronghold (is) Asshur;" Asshur-bilu-kala, "Asshur (is) lord altogether." Frequently

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[6] Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 502, 2nd ed.

[7] Compare the Hebrew נָצַר.

[1] These five kings bear only two names, Pud-il and Shalmaneser, the latter of which occurs four times in our list. Various explanations have been given of the name Shalmaneser (see *Athenæum*, No. 1869, p. 244, note [5]; Oppert, *Expédition Scientifique*, vol. ii. p. 353); but none is satisfactory.

[2] Sargon, Adrammelech, and Sharezer. Even here some doubt attaches to one name. If we read Sanasar for Sharezer, the name may be a religious one.

[3] *I. e.* they either contain the name Nin, or the common designation of the god, *Pal-Zira*.

[4] This is the name which has been given as Iva-lush, a name composed of three elements, each one of which is of uncertain sound, while the second and third are also of uncertain meaning.

[5] Sir H. Rawlinson has collected a list of nearly a thousand Assyrian names. About two-thirds of them have the name of a god for their dominant element. Asshur and Nebo hold the foremost place, and are of about equal frequency. The other divine names occur much less often than these, and no one of them has any particular prominence.

the name seems to imply some special thankfulness to a particular god for the particular child in question, who is viewed as having been his gift, in answer to a vow or to prayer. Of this kind are Asshur-akh-iddina (Esar-haddon), Sin-akhi-irib (Sennacherib), Asshur-bani-pal, &c.; where the god named seems to be thanked for the child whom he has caused to be born. Such names as Tiglathi-Nin, Tiglath-Pileser, express this feeling even more strongly, being actual ascriptions of praise by the grateful parent to the deity whom he regards as his benefactor. In a few of the names, as Mutaggil-Nebo and Shamas-Iva, the religious sentiment takes a different turn. Instead of the parent merely expressing his own feelings of gratitude towards this or that god, he dedicates in a way his son to him, assigning to him an appellation which he is to verify in his after-life by a special devotion to the deity of whom in his very name he professes himself the "servant" or the "worshipper."

In the purely secular names the honour of the king would seem to have been considered. Sargon, Sharezer, and Adrammelech are all titles of this kind—the first probably assumed together with the crown by a usurping monarch, the other two given perhaps by mothers to their sons in honour of the king their husband.

B.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE NAMES ASSIGNED TO THE ASSYRIAN KINGS AT DIFFERENT TIMES AND BY DIFFERENT WRITERS.

Sir H. Rawlinson in 1860.	Sir H. Rawlinson in 1864.	Dr. Hincks.	M. Oppert.
. . . . .	Asshur-bilu-nisisu	. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	Buzur-Asshur	. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	Asshur-vatila	. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	Bel-sumili-kapi (?)	. . . . .	Bel-kat-irassu.
Bel-lush	Bilu-zala-khus (?)	. . . . .	. . . . .
Pud-il	Pudi-el	. . . . .	. . . . .
Vul-lush I.[1]	Yama-zala-khus I. (?)	. . . . .	Hu-likh-khus I.
Shalma-Bar[2]	Shalman-ussur I.	Divanu-rish	Salman-asir II.
. . . . .	Tiglath-Ussur I.	. . . . .	Tuklat-pal-asar I.
. . . . .	Yama-zala-khus II. (?)	. . . . .	Hu-likh-khus II.
Nin-pala-kura[3]	Ussur-pala-zira	Ninip-pal-isri	Ninip-pall-ukin.
Asshur-daha-il	Asshur-dah-il	Assur-dayan	Assur-dayan.
Mutaggil-Nebo	Mutaggil-Nebo	. . . . .	Mutakkil-Nabu.
Asshur-ris-ilim	Asshur-ris-elim	. . . . .	Assur-dan-ilan.
Tiglath-Pileser I.	Tiglath-Pileser I.	Tiklat-pal-isri I.	Tuklat-pal-asar II.
Asshur-bani-pal I.	Asshur-bilu-kala	. . . . .	Assur-iddanna-palla I.
. . . . .	Asshur-muzur	. . . . .	. . . . .
Asshur-adan-akhi	Asshur-iddin-akhi	. . . . .	. . . . .
Asshur-dan-il	Asshur-danin-il I.	. . . . .	Assur-idil-il I.
Vul-lush II.	Yama-zala-khus III. (?)	. . . . .	Hu-likh-khus III.
Tiglathi-Ninip	Tiglath-Ussur II.	Shimish-Bar	Tuklat-pal-asar III.
Asshur-idanni-pal	Asshur-izzir-pal[4]	Asshur-yuzhur-bal[5]	Assur-iddanna-palla III.
Shalmanu-sar I.	Shalman-ussur II.	Divanu-Bara	Salman-asir III.
Shamash-Vul	Shamsi-Yama	Shamsi-Yav.	Samsi-Hu.
Vul-lush III.	Yama-zala-khus IV. (?)	. . . . .	Hu-likh-khus IV.
. . . . .	Shalman-ussur III.	. . . . .	Salman-asir IV.
. . . . .	Asshur-danin-il II.	. . . . .	Assur-idil-il II.
. . . . .	Asshur-zala-khus (?)	. . . . .	Assur-likh-khus.
Tiglath-Pileser II.[6]	Tiglath-Pileser II.	Tiklat-pal-isri II.	Tuklat-pal-asar II.
Shalmanu-sar II.	(Shalman-ussur IV.)	. . . . .	Salman-asir V.
Sargina	Sar-gina[7]	Sar-gina	Sar-kin.
Sennacherib	Sennacherib[8]	Tsin-akhi-irib	Sin-akh-irib.
Esar-haddon	Esar-haddon [8]	Asshur-akh-idin	Assur-akh-iddin.
Asshur-bani-pal	Asshur-bani-pal	Asshur-idanna-bal	Assur-iddanna-palla IV.
Asshur-emit-ili	{ Asshur-emid-ilin / Asshur-kinat-ili-kain }	. . . . .	Asshur-idil-il III.

[1] This name is composed of three elements, all of which are doubtful. The first is the god of the atmosphere, who has been called Vul, Iva, Yav, Yam, Yem, Ao, and U or Hu. It is now suspected that his name may be *Imra* (comp. the Indra of the Vedas), and may form the first element in Amraphel. (Gen. xiv. 1.) The second element has been read as *likh*, *zala*, and *erim*; the third as *gab*, *khus*, and *pathir*. Both of them are most uncertain.

[2] Or Shalma-ris. This name was originally thought to be different from that of the Black-Obelisk king, but is now regarded as a mere variant, and as equivalent to the Scriptural Shalmaneser. The last element is the same word as the name of the Assyrian Hercules, who has been called Bar, Nin or Ninip, and Ussur, and who possibly bore all these appellations. Sir H. Rawlinson originally called this king Temenbar. (*Commentary*, p. 22.)

[3] Or Nin-pala-*zira*. (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, 1st edition.)

[4] The middle element of this name was thought to represent the root "to give," and to have the power of *iddin* or *idanni*; but a variant reading in the recently discovered Canon employs the phonetic complement of *ir*, thus shewing that the root must be the one ordinarily represented by the character, namely נצר, "to protect," which will form *nazir* in the Benoni, and *izzir* (for *inzir*) in the third person of the aorist.

[5] Originally Dr. Hincks called this monarch Asshur-*akh*-bal (Layard's *Nin. and Bab.* p. 615.) Mr. Fox Talbot still prefers this reading. (*Athenæum*, No. 1839, p. 120.)

[6] This, of course, is following the Hebrew literation. The Assyrian Sir H. Rawlinson would read as Tukulti-pal-zira.

[7] Or, more fully, Sarru-gina.

[8] The Assyrian names of Sennacherib and Esar-haddon, according to Sir H. Rawlinson, were Sin-akhi-erba and Asshur-akh-iddina.

END OF VOL. II.

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ERRATA IN VOL. I.

Page 161, note [9], last line but one, for "*edim*" read "*ediru*."

Page 175, line 12, *for* "Amrah" *read* "Asurah."

Page 207, line 19, *for* "B.C. 692" *read* "B.C. 694." (So also in note [7], and also *for* "B.C. 1110" *read* "B.C. 1112.")

Page 325, line 4, *for* "semi-lune" *read* "demi-lune."

Page 355, line 18, *for* "100,000" *read* "40,000."

Page 430, line 7, *dele* the two commas.

Page 466, in the title of the woodcut, *for* "Koyunjik" *read* "Nimrud."

ERRATUM IN VOL. II.

Page 118, in title of woodcut, *for* "Prisoners" *read* "Tribute-bearers."

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